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ABSTRACT

Even in higher education there is a disjunction between the realities of Monday morning--with its budget crunches, operational constraints, and internecine squabbles--and the world of the imagination. However, the separation of the two realms is neither necessary nor helpful. The focus of this point of view is on the problems and potentials of multi-campus public higher education systems in the United States, where more than ten percent of college students are enrolled. What happens when chancellors, whose world is quintessentially one of Monday mornings, are invited to be speculative, imaginative, and creative? During the summer of 1975, top administrators from a number of large state university systems met for two weeks with leaders in a wide spectrum of societal sectors. These individuals were asked to turn certain assumptions on their head: that large university systems stifle diversity, diminish institutional autonomy, encourage bureaucratic rigidity, and suppress change. Discussion proceeded from the positive premise that multi-campus universities can be the makers and movers of educational change. Contributors of the resulting essays are: Ernest L. Boyer, Craig K. Comstock, C. Peter McGrath, Donald K. Smith, Robert B. Mautz, Durward Long, Adam Yarmolinsky, Loren Baritz, Elizabeth McCormack, David Halliburton, Ernest A. Lynton, James Hoge, Nancy Tapper, and R.E. Lieuallen. (MSE)

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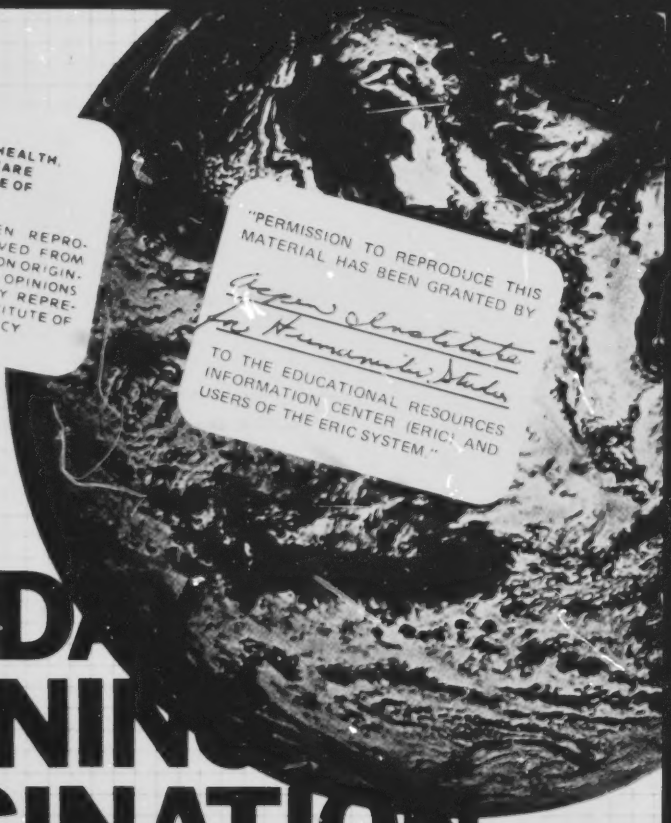

THE MONDAY MORNING IMAGINATION

REPORT FROM THE BOYER WORKSHOP ON STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEMS

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Preface

The title of this volume yokes together two ways of thinking that are generally felt to be quite separate. On the one hand, "imagination" is meant to convey the creativity, vision, breadth of insight, and fresh perspectives without which we would all lapse into rigidity and routine. People of all ages and occupations need the chance to flex their imaginative muscles: to imagine alternatives, to see the world in ways that it might be. On the other hand, when bold new visions are advocated, when new purposes and priorities are proposed, a characteristic response can be counted upon from those whose chief responsibilities include the organization and management of societal institutions. "Yes," comes the reply, "what you propose is certainly an exciting goal for all of us, but what do I do about it on Monday morning?"

That there is a disjunction between the realities of "Monday morning"—with its budget crunches, its operational constraints, its internecine squabbles—and the world of the imagination: this split has become an unfortunate bit of conventional wisdom, whether one is speaking of business corporations, or government, or—as is the case here—of higher education. By juxtaposing those two realms in the title of this book, we hope to make clear our belief that their separation is neither necessary nor helpful.

What can be found in this volume is a modest step toward making that juxtaposition a reality. The focus of our efforts falls on the problems and potentials of multi-campus public higher education systems in the United States. Large state systems are growing in number and size. Already more than ten percent of our

nation's students are enrolled in them. The emergence of state systems as a significant new higher education structure in America led to a workshop to consider especially the unique role of Chancellors and their central offices.

What happens when Chancellors—whose world is quintessentially one of Monday mornings—are invited to be speculative and imaginative and creative? Higher education is meant to serve citizens in a world whose broadest and most crucial features are not often easily seen from a top administrator's desk. Though we are all experiencing rapid global changes, the busiest of us often perceive those changes imperfectly. The production and distribution of resources, the quality of the environment, the formation of moral and political values, the senses of human responsibility and leadership—important shifts in all these areas compel us to look again, and with urgency and care, at the world around us and the human conditions within it. Our "truisms" about the quality of life and "human nature" may no longer be so true; we all need the freedom and creative space to look beyond our local selves and beyond our present moment. What happens when that freedom and space is extended to Chancellors?

Some say that large university systems stifle diversity, diminish institutional autonomy, encourage bureaucratic rigidity, and suppress change: these are the usual premises from which discussions of systems characteristically proceed. But what might follow from turning such assumptions on their heads? This exercise, then, began with a positive premise, the belief that large multi-campus universities can be the makers and movers of educational change, that state systems can respond to the new conditions with imagination and vigor as they did, at best, to the old ones. In this context, we proceeded on the premise that educational institutions have a special responsibility to examine the changing conditions in the world outside, and to reflect that global awareness in the learning environment and content within the university.

The workshop on which this volume draws was sponsored jointly by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and the HEW Department's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, or FIPSE, whose cheerful acronym is becoming synonymous in many circles with the belief that educational creativity and change can indeed occur, even in times of retrenchment. The Aspen Institute, founded in 1949, has long been committed to the ideas of

flexibility and innovation, and its inter-disciplinary approach—catalyzing personal contacts among leaders in all societal sectors—has especially the virtue of surfacing the value premises implicit in one's arguments. The common interests of these two organizations led to the workshop, which lasted nearly two weeks, during the summer of 1975.

Top administrators from eight large state university systems—California, Florida, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin—representing 1.1 million full-time students, and a million more part-time learners—were joined by a wide spectrum of other leaders. The president of a private college (Colgate), the metropolitan-area dean and the executive vice president for academic affairs of a college within a system (Empire State), the chancellor of a campus within another system (Urbana-Champaign), the director and project officer of FIPSE, university professors (from Stanford, the University of Massachusetts, and the State University of New York), consultants, an undergraduate and a graduate student, an editor (*Change*), foundation officers (the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and Ford), and others all contributed to the workshop's activities. We sought, in short, to bring together administrators and thoughtful observer-critics from other fields; a full list of participants follows this preface.

We began by looking beyond the university at the human condition, examining our key value assumptions about the changing present and the emerging future. At the global level, the theme most vividly developed was scarcity, and the urgent need for our institutions to learn to live creatively with constraint. From the global perspective we narrowed our focus to nation-wide social trends; here, the most notable topics were accountability, diversity, participation. How, we asked ourselves, do these relate to the need for leadership and aggressive action?

As a transition to the university world, we examined new aspects of student values, attitudes, and lifestyles, and we considered the impact of broadening the concept of "student" to include all learners of all ages. At this point we plunged into the world of the multi-campus university. We examined the structure, finance, governance, personnel, scope, and goals of these new organizations, comparing them with other organizations and with the broader perspective established earlier. Our third phase looked ahead to the question: How can we move from thought to action? The problems

of retrenchment, accountability, and constraint led to case studies. But conditions of scarcity can also lead to more creative steps as well. We discussed the need to reform the undergraduate curriculum (and the "dichotomy" of liberal and vocational education), graduate studies (and the imbalance between Ph.D.s conferred and available jobs), and lifelong learning—in light of the changes in our social context.

Three special sessions helped us in our work. Howard Bowen spoke to us about the *outcomes* of education, helping us connect our thinking about our goals and procedures with the realities of our achievements. We considered the Chinese universities, pondering their vastness, their special mission, and their apparent purposefulness without repression. And—in a joint meeting with the workshop on "The Social Context of Educational Policy" led by Francis Keppel, the director of the Aspen Institute's Program on Education for a Changing Society—a panel considered the broader social purposes of education. In this we were joined by Marion Countess Doenhoff, publisher of *Die Zeit*, who engagingly provided a European perspective, and Jim Hoge, editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, who led us to a lively and specific discussion of the problems and special responsibilities of the urban university.

Our last session, dubbed "Chancellor for a Day," pushed the group from thought to action. Each participant was asked to complete the sentence, "If I were a Chancellor, on Monday morning I would. . . ." Specific proposals included changes in university structure, planning, governance, system-wide goals, resource sharing, curriculum, personnel, and accountability. Some very specific and concrete steps were reported among the participants. One university Chancellor said that when he got home he was going to establish an "Aspen-like" planning panel in his office to challenge the current operation and propose new directions in light of the social changes we discussed. Another system President said he had—during the seminar—completely rewritten the annual report he was to deliver to his Board of Trustees the next week. He was going to outline for them a new course of action in light of the priorities identified during the seminar.

Another Chancellor said he had just named a university-wide panel on priorities before coming to Aspen. However, because of the apparent need to link the university to broader social trends, he was going to bring business, labor, communication, and other

leaders onto the panel—reflecting the kind of interconnections stressed at our workshop. An official from a funding agency said that his organization had been unconvinced that grants should be given to university "systems" since their capacity to introduce change was unclear. He said he now believes university systems can have major impact, and that his office will be rewriting its guidelines to permit grants to systems. A system head said he had been helped to develop a plan to change the role and mission of one of the urban universities in his system. And another university system official said he was going home to revitalize a Task Force on Education and Work which had been allowed to drift, since he now believes university systems must seek a new definition of liberal learning and vocation.

What did we conclude about systems? Any such report is necessarily personal, but some overall ideas did emerge. A system can achieve greater *diversity* among postsecondary institutions, no matter what the conventional wisdom about the freedom guaranteed by the absence of coordination. A system can assure greater *accountability*, and yet it is also best equipped to assure institutional *autonomy*. A systemwide approach can achieve greater educational *richness*, especially through intercampus actions. And a systemwide approach to higher education can stimulate greater *experimentation* and educational change.

But in order for systems to accomplish these aims, they must have within themselves mutual respect among the constituent institutions. There must be a feedback arrangement in the system which makes it possible for the policy makers to stand accountable for what they do. And the central authority in a university system should be clearly defined and limited in function; campus independence within the overall framework should be maximally encouraged. If we can achieve this delicate balance between a structure, which is inevitable, and flexibility, which is essential, higher education still may be able to survive its own bureaucracy, and find ways to enlarge the scope of creativity, initiative, and educational service.

So many people helped in this workshop and report that it is impossible here to thank them all. But at least some can be mentioned and appreciated.

Joseph Slater, President of the Aspen Institute, did much to

bring this workshop about, and it is appropriate to extend to him and to his whole staff our warmest thanks. In this connection we also thank Rowan Wakefield and his staff for getting the project off the ground, as well as the office and leadership of Francis Keppel. To FIPSE, of course, we express our gratitude. The workshop participants and their offices pitched in mightily, and for their work—especially their continued enthusiasm and efforts even after the conference—we are grateful. To Craig Comstock, consultant to the project (and author of the *Change* report, "Faculty Development in a Time of Retrenchment"), we extend our thanks for taking a fresh look at the workshop documents and transcripts and assessing them in an introduction to this volume. To Carol Cellucci and Sandra Glosser and Suzy Sterling our gratitude for the patient attention to detail in the midst of chaos which the workshop so often required.

But the record must show that it was Marty Kaplan of the Aspen Institute who provided both the vision and vitality of this venture. Marty was involved in the early days when this seminar was just a dream. He helped give shape to the idea in the securing of support. Marty Kaplan also managed endless details during the two-week Aspen sojourn and, most crucially, as Assistant Director and Editor, he analyzed our extended deliberations, organizing and editing this report. It's to Marty, scholar and friend, to whom our deepest thanks and gratitude are directed.

We came together to look at the changing context, reflect on our current university structures, and discuss ways we might use our organizations to stimulate rather than impede change. It is our hope that this volume reflects our work and spreads the word that Monday mornings can also signal new starts.

ERNEST L. BOYER

Albany, New York
March 1976

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President, University of Minnesota

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Scarcity, Values, Leadership

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For anyone who loves a stiff challenge, these are glorious years in which to be a top administrator in higher education, especially in a multi-campus state system.

Chancellors of state systems, like many other leaders, are having their wits tested by budget freezes. And, unlike presidents of private institutions, they also have a chance to deal with new levels of skepticism about the efficacy of all forms of public administration. Their earlier tasks, such as building entire campuses in empty fields, upgrading institutions, coordinating once-scattered units, creating management information and budgeting systems, and developing new programs to meet the needs of new constituents—all of this now appears to have been only a warmup. Chancellors are keenly aware that the excitement of a new ballgame is upon them. Having provided for a rapidly growing student body in the recent past, they now face the goal of keeping their systems up-to-date—not by adding a new program whenever a need arises, but by reallocating energy and resources.

With some allowance for irony, this spirit of welcoming a new challenge is what animated the Aspen Institute/FIPSE conference on which this volume is based. About half the participants were Chancellors or other high administrators, and the others a leavening of "resource people." Instead of complaining to one another about the ferocity of budget cuts, as Chancellors are wont to do, the con-

CRAIG K. COMSTOCK is the Director of the Project on Work and Human Development.

ferees examined scarcity as a global problem. We noted that universities, while far from suffering most severely, are now especially alert to the problem and could serve in a modest way as exemplars of adaptability to the new limits. Likewise, instead of assuring one another that we could properly ignore skepticism about the administration of large public systems, we sought to define styles of leadership and organization that would best take account of urgent needs. Rather than summarize the vigorous discussion at Aspen, which is reflected in the following essays, I have been asked to draw out some of the underlying assumptions of the conference, assumptions that may help account for two of its unusual features: its frequent movement back and forth between descriptions of how systems work and discussions of what they ought to be doing, and its wiry optimism despite widespread gloom in higher education.

Much of this widespread gloom is caused by what some educators have called "the steady state," a well-intended but slippery figure of speech. Taken narrowly, as another way of saying that budgets no longer grow routinely, the phrase points to a plain fact. In a looser sense, however, "steady state" may falsely suggest that the needs served and the methods employed in higher education have reached stability and will necessarily remain frozen until the advent of a budgetary springtime. On the contrary, the truth is that the environment of higher education remains turbulent, and nothing is less steady than a system whose way of operating has suddenly and recently been altered by the end of growth. The question is, to what extent will systems adopt the tactic of hunching down and waiting for better times, and to what extent will they respond creatively to what is happening now, as they did to some of the very different challenges of ten years ago?

The conferees at Aspen recognized a staggering diversity of educational goals, styles, and concerns. A briefing paper noted that so-called traditional students are asking for changes in curricula, in methods and sites of study, in techniques of assessment, in concepts of competence, and in time-frames for their education. Graduate students are asking for links between scholarship and society, interdisciplinary modes of research, and training to teach as well as do research. Other students are seeking vocational skills that will not soon become obsolete and can be acquired at locations determined not by institutional structures, but by the nature of the skills themselves. Workers want continuing education for enrichment,

recurrent education for career purposes, assessment of life experiences for credit, non-traditional means of financing, and scheduling which fits their needs rather than the requirements of institutional routines. Other adults, including retired people, are seeking a wide variety of courses. In the face of these needs, where will resources be found?

Images of cutback and retrenchment have come to haunt (and, on occasion, paralyze) educators. For them, as for most citizens, the scarcity of world resources was dramatized by the oil embargo and has been documented by university specialists in such areas as food and mineral resources. In its immediate sphere, higher education is experiencing a relative scarcity caused by the passage of the postwar baby boom. Simultaneously, state systems find themselves slipping down the wrong slope not only of the demographic curve, but also of the business cycle. This has led to salary freezes and early retirement plans for professors, as well as to the disappearance of discretionary funds, of new slots to be filled, and even of whole departments or schools. At the same time, faculty and administrators are aware of the inability of many of their graduating students to find the kinds of jobs for which they thought they were preparing. Just as doctoral students face a shortage of academic slots, so undergraduates are finding that a diploma no longer necessarily assures them of a white-collar job.

Struck by scarcity within their own system, as well as in the job structure of society, educators are often tempted simply to hold on to as much as they can of what they have and hope that times will get better, or at least will get no worse. However, the most responsible leaders are trying to adapt to new conditions with an amended image of the services which higher education might provide and how it might go about its work—thus offering an example, germane to many other fields, of how to pluck a new mission out of adversity.

In the case of a state system, this plucking must occur within the context of a complex organization. Some people now appear to doubt that any large public system, in any field, can do much of anything right. Without pausing to consider that systems are usually created to deal with problems which were previously neglected or handled badly, these skeptics assume, almost as a point of faith, that any large system must quash local initiative, lessen diversity, waste public resources, suppress change, and in general trip all over itself.

According to this view, "big" automatically equals "bad," and complexity always stultifies. Evidence to back all of these charges can certainly be lifted out of the vast, diverse record of large systems. But that record also contains evidence of extraordinary accomplishment by some of these systems. The conferees at Aspen sought to focus on what we *do* know how to accomplish, rather than dwell on their difficulties as an excuse for avoiding initiative.

In departing from the textbook model of a bureaucracy, probably no system of public services goes further than higher education. Observers who like to chart organizations might find this departure a nightmare. But it is more fruitful to view state systems in terms of an ecology of governance procedures, as an interacting world of many kinds of influence, debate, vetoes, initiatives. This world includes elements of direct democracy, personal fiefs, various types of bureaucracy, representative bodies, federal structures, and so forth. The question is how to make sure these circles of influence begin to reverberate to common themes, rather than cancel one another out; and this, of course, brought the conferees to the issue of leadership.

Some have argued very ably that top people in a state system should limit themselves to the role of a mediator among factions—both within the system and within the supporting environment. Certainly any system requires mediation by people who try to grasp and weigh all points of view. And leaders of a state system are also drawn into the role of lobbyists before the legislature, the media, and the alumni. Likewise, a system needs crisis managers who are able to make decisions under severe pressure, and to hold the system together in the face of threats to its integrity. All of these modes of leadership have their place. However, it is not enough to balance interests, argue for appropriations, and cool immediate crises. The current cynicism about government arises not only from scandals, but also from a fear that government is drifting along without vision or large purpose, and without the efficacy to accomplish goals, even if the goals were clear. During prosperity, this fear is subdued to the extent that the system can do a little something for everybody. But when growth ends, the fear revives—and unless purpose is then vivified, morale inevitably sags.

How can leaders in state systems deal with the future—in terms of values—under conditions of scarcity? In the political world, one classic answer is charismatic leadership. In other words, focus

attention on the top person, simplify the issues, dramatize a few values, identify the enemy, and arouse faith in the cause. Whatever its value and dangers elsewhere, charisma will not rescue higher education, if only because of the professional skepticism of most academics, and their complex network of governance. Likewise, any attempt to define purpose by central dictate, and to enforce it solely by regulations, would soon encounter limits. Instead, discussion at Aspen centered on another model: a leader who can help to focus attention sharply on a small number of problems at a time, draw people into an examination of them, sponsor experiments in dealing with them, and facilitate a widespread adaptation of the best programs that develop. This role goes far beyond the mediation of interests. It requires a definition of new interests, as well as a realignment of old ones.

In such an effort of leadership, a Chancellor is constrained not only by the structure within which he must work and which he has shaped through his earlier decisions but also by its "image" in the minds of various constituents. In a generation brought up on TV advertising, media politics, and obsessive talk about self-presentation, the word "image" generally suggests a front, a mask, a fake—often with good reason. However, to orient ourselves in the world, we rely on images—some too favorable perhaps, others overly critical. When systems are lucky, this process may balance out to a general image of bland competence. However, what is so often missing is an image of administrators defining values and acting in accordance with them.

Administrators may actually do this more often than they are *seen* doing it, but their image generally remains one of expediency, of acting more on behalf of the system itself rather than for any value it exists to serve. The pity here is not that administrators are failing to receive credit for the quality of their judgments, but that value judgments are not sufficiently legitimated. Unless these judgments are seen for what they are, and reverberate through the many circles of governance, the system proceeds without a sense of purpose. In good times, it may have been enough for a leader to mediate interests. But in times of relative scarcity, a leader can keep his system vital only by dealing with values.

In this spirit, the conference in Aspen began with a consideration of global issues, both as a way for Chancellors to extract themselves from quotidian administrative concerns, and as a way for all of us to sketch the future context for higher education. We dis-

cussed the educational values needed in the kind of world we found ourselves expecting, and then how state systems could go about responding to these needs. In this book, however, the order of topics is transposed. Since most readers of this book will not be running state systems of higher education, they may find it helpful to start with personal descriptions, case studies, and theoretical analyses of the systems with which the conferees were already very familiar.

The first piece in the book then, is a personal account of the differences among three state systems, written by a leader who has experience with each of them (McGrath). It is followed by a case study of the response of the Wisconsin system to the twin challenges of consolidation and retrenchment (Smith), reflections on leadership goals to be followed by a Chancellor and his central staff (Mautz), and a theoretical analysis of the governance of state systems (Long). Perspective is then offered by a comparison of state systems with other kinds of public service agencies in the U.S. (Yarmolinsky), and by a Chancellor's reflections on visiting higher education in China (Boyer).

With this knowledge of how systems work as background, the book then turns to educational goals, examining the links between liberal learning and vocational education (Baritz), the need for "oases of fundamental inquiry" (McCormack), values as a guide to alternatives in traditional learning (Halliburton), and what education has meant to a man with a career in both government service and academic life (Yarmolinsky).

In its third part, the book looks at several specific ways in which these systems actually work—and could work—toward their goals: in particular, a critical view of the flagship campus and its preoccupation with the doctoral degree (Lynton); the difficulty one urban campus has had in defining a distinctive mission (Hoge); a new type of institution successfully created for the "learning worker" (Tapper); and the response of state systems to ecological knowledge and values (Lieuallen).

Thus, the book makes a couple of fairly sharp and deliberate breaks: between descriptions of systems and statements of goals, and between these goals and some particular attempts to fashion a plan or an institution to work toward them. In the literature on higher education, values are often segregated in volumes of their own, a kind of walled garden. In other books, we find the nuts and bolts about governance, if not a sort of theology about "systems."

And in a third category, we find case studies of attempts to mediate between the two, sometimes marked by vagueness about goals and a sorrowful tone about the system. At Aspen, the conferees attempted to discuss all of these things in a common frame of reference.

State systems have an opportunity to play an exemplary role in two broad areas. Uniquely, these systems have a foot in each of two worlds: higher education and public administration, both of which are challenged simultaneously by new needs and by financial retrenchment. In higher education, the goals are unclear, and many people doubt the ability of public systems to adapt to new needs. In this situation, Chancellors and their staffs need to do more than just trim budgets and lapse into a "steady state." They have an opportunity to show that clarity of values is not so much a gracenote of prosperity as the very key to flourishing after the boom is over. During their years of growth, state systems developed many values and practices that ought to be sorted through and examined—both for sources of continuing strength and for elements no longer serving a vital need.

PART ONE: The State of the Art

Mini-System, Maxi-System, Land-Grant System: One Participant's Perceptions

C. Peter Magrath

A Personal Note

Eight years ago, I crossed the barricades—and the Mississippi River (if not the Rubicon)—and changed my status from being a faculty member in political science at Brown University to being an administrator at the University of Nebraska. Although I was trained as a political scientist and taught for seven years at Brown, my years as a university administrator—at the University of Nebraska mini-system; the State University of New York maxi-system; and the University of Minnesota land-grant unitary system—have pulled me far from the life of reflection, scholarly research and writing, and opportunities to conceptualize. Because I am more comfortable in describing my experiences personally than I might be in preparing an elaborate conceptual model of higher education systems and how they can be more responsive to public needs, this paper will be a *participant's* look at systems from the inside.

A few of my working assumptions should be made clear. First, I assume that it is a good thing if our complex university systems work well and reasonably efficiently in an organizational and bureaucratic sense. Second, I assume that one of the major challenges for our higher education university systems is that they must be responsive and able to provide leadership in meeting the social and educational needs of a changing American society. Finally, I want to

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emphasize a behavioral assumption about how the various participants in our large university systems operate. Within all colleges and universities, simple and complex, there are incredibly varying perceptions as to what is really going on, depending on one's particular responsibilities and actual working role.

This last point was brought home to me vividly some months ago during an accreditation visit to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The University of Wisconsin System, as we know, has been experiencing fiscal difficulty, in part because of a clash in perceptions—the perceptions of the Governor of Wisconsin *versus* the perceptions of the Board of Regents and the President of the University of Wisconsin as to what is needed to operate that University. During my visit to the Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus, as a university administrator I was much concerned both about the fiscal problems facing President John Weaver and his colleagues in the Central Administration of the System, and those facing Chancellor Werner Baum and his colleagues at the Milwaukee campus. The prime topics of discussion were the size of the University budget for the 1975-77 biennium, the amount of money that would presumably have to be cut from the current base in constructing the 1975-77 budget, and the likelihood of significant cutbacks in services to faculty, students, and programs in general due to the anticipated budget.

The talk among these executives and their administrative colleagues all revolved around such words as "percentage reduction," "budget bases," "decremental savings," "reallocation of resources," and the like. During the course of my visit, I also spent some time with various academic departments at the Milwaukee Campus. It was another world. These were intelligent and capable faculty members, yet the practical problems that preoccupied Chancellor Baum and President Weaver were remote concerns. Yes, these faculty knew that Governor Patrick Lucey's budget recommendations for the University of Wisconsin System were, in an abstract sense, poor, but their own departments and programs had fared well in recent years. They were still confident that growth, development, and improvement would take place. More strikingly, although I gave these faculty every opportunity to raise questions, they simply were unconcerned about the various budgetary implications that so preoccupied their administrators. Perhaps they simply felt that someone else would worry about those problems, but from my perspective it is hard to

believe that John Weaver's budgetary problems will not eventually, and quite tangibly, affect academic departments, their faculties, and their students.

This may be obvious, but still it seems worth remembering that there is a long, long distance between the perceptions and concerns of, say, an Assistant Professor of English at the State University of New York at Binghamton, and the perceptions and concerns of the Chancellor of the State University of New York system.

The Nebraska Mini-System

For nine months in 1968-69, I served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and then, from 1969 until 1972, I worked basically under the title of Dean of Faculties (in effect, Vice President or Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs) for the Lincoln Campuses and outstate (agricultural) activities of the University of Nebraska. For six months in 1971-72, I served as the Acting Campus Chief Executive (Chancellor) on the Lincoln Campuses.

The University of Nebraska System had just been constructed when I arrived in the early summer of 1968. It consisted of the former main campus at Lincoln, which had been governed traditionally by a Chancellor, and it included a Medical Center in the City of Omaha that had a dean reporting to the Chancellor. Between 1967 and 1968, legal and political developments led to the creation of a University of Nebraska System that included as its major new unit the former Municipal University of Omaha, which on July 1, 1968 became the University of Nebraska at Omaha. As a consequence, the University of Nebraska was quickly and somewhat hastily reorganized into a structure that included a Chief Executive Officer for the entire System (eventually to be given the title of President) and three Campus Chancellors reporting directly to that President—one from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, one from the University of Nebraska Medical Center, and one from the University of Nebraska at Omaha. This System included approximately 35,000 students with the major concentration at the Lincoln Campus, which contains approximately 20,000 students; the next largest campus naturally is the University of Nebraska at Omaha, with approximately 14,000 students; and the remaining students are concentrated in the Health

Sciences, all of which (with the exception of Dentistry) are now operated from the Medical Center at Omaha.

The Nebraska System had difficulty pulling itself together, although, in retrospect, the reasons seem fairly traditional and unexceptional. The faculty at the University of Nebraska at Omaha felt that they were poor cousins in pay and status to the better-established and graduate-oriented faculty at Lincoln. On the other hand, the Omaha faculty had the advantage of being located in the major urban area of the state, and thus the Lincoln faculty feared that major programmatic and budgetary developments would gravitate toward Omaha in the future, draining away scarce resources from Lincoln. The tensions were exacerbated by the fact that the new System Administration was initially derived entirely from Lincoln, leaving the University of Nebraska at Omaha faculty and administrators with the feeling that Lincoln was running the show. Eventually this changed, but for the first two years the Nebraska System Administration actually operated out of the main administration building on the Lincoln Campus with consequently varying perceptions and concerns for both the Omaha and the Lincoln Campus Administrations.

As a Lincoln administrator, I would like to think that I was completely statesmanlike, but in truth it was impossible not to fight to preserve one's own turf and discretionary authority. This had little to do with personalities, since I numbered among my closest friends and associates the University's System administrators. But those of us at the campus level felt, contrary to our opposite numbers in Omaha, that we were disadvantaged by having the System Administration located literally just a few yards away from us. We tended to feel that we were much closer to the faculty and the actual needs of the campus than a System administrator who was concerned with Board relationships, with overall political relationships, and with a perceived obligation to do at least certain things for Omaha. We felt, too, that bureaucratically the System administrators simply did not understand what faculty and student realities and needs *really* were at the campus level. But because the System administrators were physically situated on the main campus and could get directly involved with faculty and administrators, we, as campus administrators, felt we were being definitely (though not maliciously) undercut in our administrative responsibilities.

By contrast, the Omaha administrators—exclusive of the Medical School Administration, which seemed reasonably able always to go its own way—felt that there was an incestuous relationship between the System Administration and the Lincoln Campus Administration. I, in turn, often wished that the System Administration could be located some point halfway between Lincoln and Omaha on Interstate 80 to resolve that particular paranoia, and to get the System administrators out of the hair of those of us trying to operate the Lincoln Campus. It won't be surprising to learn that the University of Nebraska Cornhusker football team was a focus for some of this kind of symbolic paranoia, for the Board of Regents and the President of the University used the Lincoln Campus football team as an occasion on Saturdays for entertaining, for social activities, and the like—but no one ever paid any attention to the football team of the University of Nebraska at Omaha. In fact, there was often an elaborate Alphonse and Gaston routine as to whose football team the Cornhuskers really were—were social functions being hosted by the System President, who had responsibility for the football team and its associated activities? Or were they hosted by the Campus Chancellor, who was directly on a line relationship involved with men's intercollegiate athletics?

In retrospect, the Nebraska System did work, and some of the tensions and awkwardness in putting together a new System with disparate units and different objectives were inevitable. This was also a difficult period because of the push by minorities for more adequate representation, the anti-war disturbances, and the various tensions associated with student protest activities. The difficulty, as I see it, is that a mini-system such as Nebraska's is too much of a hot-house atmosphere. It is inevitable that the System Chief Executive must have a measure of direct control commensurate with the responsibility that the Board of Regents sees that person as having. In a state as intimate and small in population (one and a half million persons) as Nebraska, it is essential for the System President to operate as an exceptionally strong individual who in effect directly governs the entire System on the major issues of finance, program development (or retrenchment), inter-campus coordination, and personnel policies. In fact, if not in form, the Chief Campus Administrator is really—and must be—a Provost or Associate or Vice President, whatever title one might want to use.

The SUNY Maxi-System

In the Summer of 1971, I went to the State University of New York, the largest university system in the country and, indeed, in the world, as President of the State University of New York at Binghamton. Binghamton is one of the four University centers which include doctoral and professional school programs in the 72-unit SUNY System. I worked with a local trustee council that has basically an advisory role but does have the significant function of nominating a Campus President to the SUNY Chancellor and Board of Trustees, which, in turn, has the overall responsibility for the 400,000 students in the SUNY System.

The University of Nebraska is a system, and the State University of New York is a system, but, in a behavioral sense, the resemblance basically ends with the word "system." This is simply and strictly a function of size, and I can illustrate this best with an anecdote. Although as a SUNY campus president I had contact through conferences and as a member of a council or cabinet of presidents (elected by other presidents) that meet on a regular and useful basis with Chancellor Ernest Boyer, I had relatively little direct conversational contact with the Chancellor. This is the way it has to be, although I did of course deal directly with his key associates in the SUNY Central Administration. I arrived at SUNY-Binghamton on July 1, 1972, and it was 15 months later—and I vividly remember the day—that Chancellor Boyer telephoned me directly for the first time to discuss a local matter involving SUNY-Binghamton. This made an enormous impression on me, for on the Lincoln Campus, I would have had telephone contact and conversation with the System Chief two or three times a week.

In SUNY, the Campus President is, in theory, relatively autonomous and free to run his campus without direct intervention or guidance. Unfortunately, in practice there is a good deal of narrow budgetary and administrative control, but it comes from the State Division of the Budget, not from the Chancellor's office. In SUNY, a Campus President, to use the language of the business world, is in many respects analogous to a branch manager of a large company, but with enormous flexibility (subject to State guidelines and budgetary realities) as to what he does.

My perceptions as a SUNY Campus President of the relationship with the System Central Administration were much different from those I held in the Nebraska System. Simplifying somewhat, I saw

the SUNY Chancellor and his staff as a filter to work through and as a potential set of allies on certain issues involving State policies and budgetary decisions. Most of the frustrations I felt were directed at the State government and not at the Chancellor's office, which concentrates on the work of long-range planning, coordinating among campuses, trying to stake out basic new directions for the total System, and managing Board and State governmental relationships. The System Chief Executive in SUNY comes through as much less a threat to the campus bureaucrat in a maxi-system such as SUNY than in a mini-system such as Nebraska. This is clearly a function of size and the many diversions and obligations that understandably attract the SUNY Chancellor's time. Within the SUNY System, a Campus President has to work hard to get the Chancellor's attention engaged on matters where the Campus President perceives the Chancellor or his associates as being able to help or resolve an issue —a rather different practical and psychological situation than that existing in the mini-system, where the Campus Chief Executive often feels that he and his associates are being run and directed, if not on a day-to-day, certainly a week-to-week, basis by the Campus Administrator.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the State University of New York System, given its size and the enormous economic, social, and political complexity of New York, is that it works—and it works quite well. It is almost ludicrous to see over 70 Campus Presidents walking into a room to have a meeting with the Chancellor and his associates, and yet, despite the diversity of educational institutions within SUNY, there is a general coherence. As a managerial administrative system, the SUNY System holds together remarkably well, doubly so when one considers the difficult fiscal and political times that characterize the late 1960s and the 1970s.

The SUNY maxi-system works because of a strong communications link between its Central Administration and the campuses; a reasonably clear definition of institutional roles for its diverse campuses; and (I suspect) a somewhat unique historical situation: there is within SUNY no single former main or "mother" campus to stimulate jealousies and defensive attitudes. Moreover, SUNY represents *the* story in public higher education in the state outside of New York City (where the City University of New York represents public higher education), giving SUNY a relative cohesion and unity in a state where until recently only the private colleges and universities really counted.

The Minnesota Land-Grant Unitary System

My current responsibilities encompass the presidency of the University of Minnesota System, which is the land-grant university for Minnesota. The University of Minnesota System currently enrolls approximately 80,000 students and, even though it is not merged with the State colleges and community colleges in the State, represents the eighth largest university system in the country. (It should be noted that a serious proposal, strongly influenced by the recent merger in Wisconsin, is being considered by the Legislature; it would have the effect of merging the University of Minnesota with the Minnesota State College System and the Community College System.)

Under the current organizational scheme, I am accountable to a constitutionally established Board of Regents and have administrative responsibilities directly for the entire System. The System includes the Twin Cities Campus of the University (Minneapolis and St. Paul), which is the second or third largest single-campus operation in the country; it also embraces a campus of over 6,000 students at Duluth, a small liberal arts college at Morris, Minnesota, and two agricultural-technical colleges. With the aid of six vice presidents, we administer directly the entire System, although the four outstate campuses, somewhat euphemistically referred to as coordinate campuses, have provosts who report directly to me. In effect, I serve as the provost for the Twin Cities Campus. The entire System is administered quite tightly out of Morrill Hall, the administration building for the University, which is situated on the Minneapolis Campus. At the present time, there are no unusual tensions within the System in the sense that the outstate campuses feel uneasy in their working relationship toward the Central Administration—certainly no more than any existing tensions within the large Twin Cities Campus.

One's perceptions change with one's role. My perception now is that, subject to the many frustrations and inhibitions and political limitations that confront all academic administrators in complex state universities, I am in a position of relative autonomy in directing the various campuses and operations of the University of Minnesota. I, at least, do not feel that there are unusual or inhibiting tensions within the current administrative and organizational hierarchy of the University, though I am self-conscious about the great distance between my chair and the actual on-going work of a university as

large as the University of Minnesota. Yet having been a faculty member, an arts and sciences dean, and a campus administrator, I cannot help but wonder how faculty, deans, and campus administrators on the coordinate campuses of the University of Minnesota perceive me and what I am doing: Am I helping them achieve their objectives? Do they feel that I am too remote from their problems to be really relevant to their concerns, or do they—as I suspect is likely—hope that I can be neutralized on issues where they perceive me either as unhelpful or as a constraint?

Although the University of Minnesota System falls halfway between an enterprise such as the Nebraska mini-system and the SUNY maxi-system, a relatively unitary operation is made possible because the graduate and professional programs are almost exclusively concentrated in the State's central metropolitan area (including nearly half of the State's 4,000,000 residents), and because the attention span in Minnesota is comparable to that of Nebraska: the State, despite the inevitable tensions between the urban and rural areas, is itself quite unitary. There is also a media attention to the University of Minnesota and the State of Minnesota in a way not really possible in the more heterogeneous and diverse social, political, and economic environment of New York State.

Some Conclusions

My own experiences, and inevitable biases, lead me to some judgments about the higher education systems that have become so prominent a part of our educational landscape in the years following World War II. First, I believe that *the small university system must operate on a unitary basis*, even though the fiction is preserved that there is a coordinating president, usually assisted by individuals with a title of chancellor. In fact, in smaller systems like Nebraska or Missouri, the ultimate chief executive, whatever the title, *must* be perceived as the central directing officer of the educational system. This much is expected of these chief executives both by their boards and by the state governments to which they are accountable. It can work in no other way.

Second, in the unquestionably large maxi-systems like SUNY, CUNY, California, North Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin, *it is possible for the chief executive officer to be a planning, coordinating, and political chief executive*. In these systems, the campus chief

administrators can, if they are aggressive, make a range of decisions within certain fiscal and other constraints. In these situations, the bureaucratic division between president and campus chancellor can work in a rough and general sense, though even here, inevitably, the ultimate chief executive must have discretion to call the shots on issues that become salient statewide educational concerns because of the intervention of such other participants in higher education as governors, state legislatures, and governing boards.

Third, it is my view that, despite all of the inherent difficulties, *large higher education systems do indeed serve the public interest.* They do lead to better budgetary and programmatic coordination and management, and they do make state governmental and political pressures more acceptable to faculty and staff within the universities. Faculty and staff leaders within these large university systems psychologically, even if not verbally, accept the inevitability of state government direction in budgets and policy planning, and of the growing tendency of governing boards to intervene on educational matters in the areas like fiscal constraints and program management. Precisely because the central administration is remote and is perceived as being close to the government of the state, the faculty and the staff are willing, however grudgingly, to accept the inevitability of certain kinds of decisions being made for them. If familiarity (in the sense of close day-to-day involvement) can breed bureaucratic contempt, remoteness, in turn, brings with it a grudging respect and a certain acceptance for the decisions that the long-distance bureaucratic managers have to make. At the same time, the fact that our university systems are increasingly centrally managed—or appear to be centrally managed—assuages public criticism and provides some assurance, not always justified, that they *are* being better coordinated and managed. The illusion, of course, does not always match the reality.

Fourth, I am convinced that the *university systems serve as useful vehicles for moving traditionally conservative universities to a better acceptance of their public responsibilities.* I am thinking, for example, of the development of off-campus educational programs that are aimed at increasing access and service to previously unserved or underserved population groupings. Certainly, this has happened in the State University of New York with the development of Empire State College and various outreach programs that would not have emerged had the State University of New York been a random assortment of individual campuses. Nor is it any coincidence that in

Nebraska the Central Administration has pushed hard for the development of the so-called State University of Nebraska (SUN), now known as UMA, the University of Mid-America—an open campus kind of educational experience modeled after the British Open University. It is often asserted by the proponents of small private colleges that only they can experiment and have the flexibility and freedom from political control in the educational arena. On the contrary, I am convinced that even greater opportunities and potentialities exist within the large as well as the smaller university systems for creativity, for program initiatives, and for sound experimentation. In a well-constructed university system this can occur both at the campus level and at the central system level, which, through its budgetary resources and its access to the state decision-makers, can often further the development of new methods of educational services to society.

Fifth, and this follows from my previous comment, the *large university systems can make access and transfer easier for students.* The very fact that there is an implicit central coordination and direction stimulates the various campuses to find ways to cooperate voluntarily, at least at certain levels, so as to avoid what they might perceive as unwarranted bureaucratic interventions from administrators too remote from their campuses. In the same way, the large university systems provide a certain degree of limitation and inhibition on campus parochialism, and they furnish a forum in which various educational building blocks can be put for constructing new programs and new ventures.

Sixth, I think university systems *are in a better position to respond to unforeseen changes.* In part this is because they are close to the centers of power within state government where some of these pressures first begin to be felt. I am personally convinced that the large university systems are providing and will provide the leadership in the whole emerging field of continuing and part-time education. In fact, I look forward to the day when all education is continuing education and much of it occurs outside of the traditional campus framework. The large state educational systems can draw on their budgeting authority and their ability to respond on a statewide basis to statewide needs.

Will these large systems be able to respond to *all* unforeseen changes? This is a more difficult question to answer, but I would guess that the answer is yes. If, for instance, faculty unionization becomes a reality for our large education systems, and the verdict

on this simply is not in yet, my guess is that the state university systems will be able to make a national response to the new situation of collective bargaining more possible. Certainly, the experience of the City University of New York and the State University of New York should soon provide us with some judgments on this matter.

The Critical Question: Leadership

Although it may seem shopworn—and it is certainly difficult to define with precision—the critical question regarding our large university systems is ultimately the question of leadership. Large universities and complex university systems can be responsive in a creative way to societal needs, and university presidents and chancellors are crucial ingredients in providing that leadership. I have never personally liked the term "administrator," even though it is routinely applied to persons like myself. Perhaps the clue lies in the use of the word "routine," for when we think of an "administrator" we instinctively think of someone who is tinkering with machinery, making paperwork decisions at a desk, and dealing with the nuts and bolts of personnel and logistical problems. We think, in short, of a bureaucrat—a term with pejorative connotation in our society.

Indeed, university presidents do many of the mechanical and routine tasks that qualify them for the label of "bureaucrat" and "administrator." Nevertheless, an administrator can also, and finally must be, a *leader*, as well as a person concerned with the important function of keeping the machinery together. University presidents and chancellors do have many opportunities with the potential to exercise leadership and direction, to cast their influence, voices, and commitments on one side or another of important public educational issues. Furthermore, when they sense a need and a realistic possibility of success, they also have opportunities to help chart new directions.

We will continue to be in difficult times, with genuinely vexing choices, for public higher education and the large university systems. University leaders, the chancellors and presidents of our systems, will have opportunities to be creative managers and initiators even in the difficult areas involving appropriations and inadequate fiscal resources. We all know the litany of constraints that operate to

restrict presidents and chancellors, but there is also room for initiative and leadership.

I firmly believe that the vast majority of university faculty and active students accept the proposition that university chancellors and presidents are persons who should provide direction and leadership. The leaders of our university systems are almost invariably individuals who have come out of the academic world, and they have the temperament and the skills to mediate effectively between some of the cruder political pressures and some of the uninformed suggestions that will continue to be imposed on our universities. Despite all the mythology regarding faculty members, I believe the evidence shows that they are willing to accept reasonable direction, are fairly realistic in understanding the world in which we live, and can understand the mediation functions that a system chief executive must perform in a creative fashion.

There is much common sense in the analysis presented in Adam Yarmolinsky's recent paper on "Institutional Paralysis."* Yarmolinsky's model is simple: a leader does have an obligation to try to lead and to define the issues and their possible solutions. It is the function of a leader to consult with appropriate constituencies, and lay out on the table for all to see the directions that he or she wants to pursue, cooperating positively in the development of a process that allows sufficient time for informed reaction to take place—responding then to the suggestions and reactions that come forward. There is still, of course, the inescapable necessity for the leader to make decisions and chart directions, but only after having taken account of informed and responsible suggestions from appropriately involved participants in the policy process. The key, naturally, is a relationship of faith and good trust, and I believe that we can have such relationships within our complex university systems.

There are dangers. A serious one is contained in the simple fact that the leaders of the higher education systems are organizationally too remote and too far from the actual programs and the instructional activity. This is bad both for the leaders and for the faculty and students, but there is no easy solution to this situation.

For there is no automatic way to guarantee that the leaders who emerge in our large university systems will be men and women

*Adam Yarmolinsky. "Institutional Paralysis," *Daedalus*, Winter 1975, pp. 61-67.

of vision, with a sense of purpose, and with a basic humaneness. There are, unfortunately, no guarantees in the selection of university presidents, any more than there are in the selection of Presidents of the United States. We have to hope that good leaders will emerge in these university systems who will remain forever conscious of the enormous gap between them and the classroom of that Assistant Professor of English somewhere on one side of their campuses. Large size and its concomitant, impersonality, are part of this world. Despite this situation, the large systems of public higher education, I believe, can act humanely and effectively because their size provides a rational way to organize educational resources, a way both to mental and political arena and, more positively, to further progressive educational causes.

Coping, Improvising, and Planning for the Future During Fiscal Decline: A Case Study from the University of Wisconsin System

Donald K. Smith

This is a brief case study of the experience of the University of Wisconsin System with fiscal decline in the period since 1973. Since fiscal austerity and unsteady state budgets may be part of the context within which higher education systems will need to plan for the foreseeable future, this case study may call attention to the certain constraints and perplexities which will affect subsequent discussion of the future role of state systems.

I

The experience with fiscal decline came early and massively to the University of Wisconsin System. It also came at the time the system was being formed through the merger of two prior Wisconsin public higher education systems. I believe that merger, and the assumptions underlying this somewhat dramatic reorganization by state government, brought austerity to Wisconsin higher education somewhat earlier than to most states. We faced a recession-style budget in 1973 when the possibility of national economic recession was only a premonition. In this sense, I suppose Wisconsin state government deserves some kind of recognition for having anticipated the kinds of fiscal problems now faced by many states as a result of the combined impact of recession and inflation. Nevertheless, for

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reasons I shall make clear shortly, we were unhappy with the severity of the budget cuts visited upon us in 1973, and this unhappiness has not been relieved by the fact that the subsequent recession made it all but inevitable that the pattern of retrenchment started in the 1973-75 biennium would be continued, as it has been, for the 1975-77 biennium.

Since we have gone through two years of fiscal decline and are now planning for two more years, those of us in Wisconsin sometimes think of ourselves as participants in an early-warning system for public higher education generally. That is, our experience with continuing austerity may foreshadow a future faced by most, if not all, state systems of public higher education. If so, the history of major events in Wisconsin since 1973, culminating in the request of the Governor in 1975 that the Regents prepare plans for future reduction in the scope of the system, including plans for phasing out or phasing down institutions, colleges, and programs, may be instructive. However, one cannot understand the force of the Governor's request, or the form of the response made by the President and the Regents without examining the context within which these events took place, and the salient fiscal steps taken by state government as early as 1973. For this reason I should like to develop my remarks through the following steps:

1. The merger and its assumptions.

2. The idea of "productivity savings" in the 1973-75 system budget, and the subsequent dimensions of the fiscal crisis.

3. The request for study of reducing the scope of the UW System, and the subsequent effort to convert a context of continuous fiscal crisis into a context of orderly planning for the future.

II

In 1971, the Wisconsin Legislature voted to disestablish the state's Coordinating Council for Higher Education. The two existing systems of public universities were placed into a single, merged

system under a single Board of Regents. The coordinating and statewide planning functions for universities formerly held by the Coordinating Council would thus be assumed by the Board of Regents of the merged system and its central administration, together with the policy and monitoring functions typically held by an operating board.[1] The merged board of the new system and its central administration began work in late 1971.

In a series of steps taken by the new board, the system was constituted as a confederation of fifteen institutions: (a) thirteen degree-granting universities; (b) a system-within-a-system of fourteen two-year centers, each with a campus and a mission for preparing students for transfer to a college or university; and (c) a statewide University Extension unit. The thirteen universities were further classified into two clusters: a Doctoral Cluster consisting of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; and a University Cluster consisting of the nine universities of the former Wisconsin State Universities System and the two universities at Green Bay and Parkside which had formerly been associated with Madison and Milwaukee. The universities of the University Cluster generally had entitlement to offer programs at the baccalareate, masters, and specialist levels. The nine universities of the former WSU System were operating at these levels. In subsequent action, the Board of Regents designated UW-Extension and the Center System as the Outreach Cluster.

The assumptions, stated and unstated, underlying this merger included the following: that public higher education in Wisconsin was overbuilt and in need of pruning to adjust to emerging fiscal realities; that a strong, single, governing board should be established and given the task of planning and coordinating the whole of public university higher education in Wisconsin; that, in performing this task, this single Board of Regents should look particularly at the well-known academic sins of program duplication and waste; that, in summary, merger should give Wisconsin a leaner, more economical, more efficient, and more productive system of public higher education than that which had emerged from almost three decades of constant growth and soaring ambition.

[1] Under merger, the Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education System retained its separate board. Coordination of the VTAE and University Systems, formerly a responsibility of the Coordinating Council, became a voluntary responsibility of the VTAE and University System Boards.

Merger was the idea of Wisconsin's Governor. He proposed it, argued its merits, pushed it through the legislature without help from the boards of the two former public university systems, and has had much to do with the fiscal and public policy boundary conditions within which the merged system has operated. These boundary conditions were to include an emphasis on tighter management in the interests of greater productivity, reexamination of programs in the interests of pruning low priority or replicative investments, and a continuing, if sporadic, push to shift costs selectively from tax support to user-fee or tuition support.

While the Regents, central administration, and the institutions were not to know for some time of the extent of the fiscal pressures which were to flow from the assumptions underlying merger, it is fair to say that there was general agreement that better planning and coordination of higher educational services in Wisconsin could be achieved. Higher education needed to move from preoccupation with growth to reexamination of its priorities in the interest of continued qualitative growth. We called this "the thesis of growing from within," or as one of my less reverent colleagues puts it, "the cancer theory of growth and development." To make the thesis operative within limits, the system needed to learn how to move resources from low priority services in order to support high priority goals for the future and to achieve these goals in ways other than those possible simply through increments of tax dollars.

The first biennial budget proposal of the merged system for the 1973-75 biennium reflected these assumptions. It was taken to the Department of Administration and the Governor in Fall of 1972, and responded faithfully to the budget instructions provided by the Governor's office. It incorporated a major intention to move base-funding from lower priority purposes to higher priority goals related both to increased productivity and fulfillment of goals for the future. The budget was developed by Senior Vice President Percy and his staff under almost impossible time pressures, and was a remarkable conceptual and technical achievement. It did relate budget requests to clearly defined, academic planning goals and priorities. I turn next to a description of the central feature of that budget proposal and to an accounting of what happened.

III

Governor Lucey was in 1973, and remains, committed to the proposition that government in the state of Wisconsin has grown too expensive. Wisconsin, as you may know, has a proud history of providing support for public education, including higher education, and of being on the forefront in developing varieties of social legislation designed to protect the health, welfare, and quality of its citizens. Certain other facts which had not gone unnoticed before were to receive great emphsis in public discussion before and during the enactment of the 1973-75 state budget. Wisconsin is a state of average size, and slightly below the national average in per capita income. It is also a state which stands well above the national average in terms of the tax burden carried by its citizens. And, in terms of national comparisons, it has tended historically to rank second or third in the nation in terms of per capita tax investment in support of higher education.[2] The fact that this state of modest means has built and supported one of the nation's most prestigious public universities, the University at Madison, and that it has built one of the better systems of public universities in the nation has been a matter of pride. But yesterday's pride may become today's concern, particularly in the climate of perceived public irritation with the costs of government.

A central feature of the instructions to state agencies, including the University System for preparing their 1973-75 requests, was the concept of "productivity savings." The idea was that each state agency should increase its productivity by a stipulated percentage, and thus maintain its current level and quality of services with less money (i.e., a base budget reduction). A companion idea was that each agency should bring forward proposals for "productivity reinvestment" of the money saved through increased productivity, specific reinvestments for high priority purposes could be proposed for consideration by the Governor's office, and subsequently by the legislature.

I shall not dwell on the conceptual difficulties of applying the idea of productivity to labor-intensive public service agencies, or, most of all, the difficulties with the idea as applied to the traditional

[2] Data available in the Fall of 1975 show Wisconsin slipping from second position in 1973-74 in per capita tax support for postsecondary education to thirteenth position in 1975-76. The position is still respectable. However, the trend taking place in a single biennium is cause for some alarm.

and organic communities known as universities. These difficulties received extensive attention both within the system and between the system and state government. But the budget proposed followed directions and included the stipulated "productivity savings," together with specific proposals for "productivity reinvestments." In large terms, the system's budget proposals showed a cumulative "productivity saving" (base cut) for the biennium of 7.5% of the 1972-73 base budget.

The system was given, and used, flexibility in distributing the cuts between the two years of the biennium. However, the net result in biennial arithmetic was that the budget showed a reduction of $21.5 million in tax and academic fee support which would have been available during the biennium from continuation of its earlier base. In human terms, this translated into a loss of more than 800 previously funded positions.[3]

The UW System budget also showed a set of specific requests for funding under the heading of "productivity reinvestment." These requests totalled approximately $9,000,000 for the biennium, and were joined with requests for new and changed services in support of high priority educational goals. If a significant proportion of these requests had been funded, the system would have achieved a major shift in system resources from lower priority purposes to programmatic improvement designed to increase through time both the efficiency and quality of its educational services.

Behind the budget proposal lay an enormous effort of base-budget review conducted by each of the institutions. All base budgets had to be reexamined; base reallocations of about $7 million over and above the required productivity savings were identified to provide the sums needed to help meet some essential needs; and decision-item narratives were prepared to support requests for productivity reinvestments and for high-priority new and changed services.

While the proposed productivity reinvestments encompassed a host of campus-specific proposals, the large headings which accounted for most of the requests included proposals for the support of improvements in interinstitutional development and the use of mediated instruction, proposals for development of a network of learning resource centers, proposals for developing statewide library services, proposals for a new physical plant preventive maintenance

[3] By 1976-77, the number of positions lost will have reached 1132.

program, proposals for development of accelerated degree programs, and a proposal for faculty renewal and development activities designed to face such future problems as shifts in student numbers and program preferences, and a potentially aging faculty profile in the 1980's. New and changed service requests, aimed at future priorities, included a major request for start-up funding of a statewide network of external degree programs aimed at adult populations previously unserved or poorly served by the system.

As one may have guessed, the product of the budget was that the base-reducing productivity savings were incorporated in the Governor's budget, and were approved by the legislature; only minimal approvals were given to proposed productivity reinvestments or to future-oriented new and changed services in the Governor's budget, and these were further eroded in actions of the legislature.[4]

To be just, the budget was not wholly from increments. Some new and changed services were funded, including a program of advanced opportunity grants for minority and disadvantaged students, and a program for strengthening campus-based support services for minority and disadvantaged students. In common with most states, there were also new state investments in the preparation of health care professionals. There was funding for salary increases at the level of 5.5% for each year of the biennium, and there was some funding for inflationary offset. In actual dollars, the state tax appropriation for the 1973-75 biennium was larger than the appropriation for the 1971-73 biennium. But, in real and traditional terms, the system had a retrenchment budget for its existing programs and operations, and little elbow-room to actualize developments aimed toward future goals and directions.

The sense of a major fiscal crisis in 1973 required, however, another precipitating event. Wisconsin's universities were budgeted in 1971-73 under an enrollment-funding formula. In general, this meant that state appropriations for the biennium, and the projected annual budgets of the universities, were tied to a projected-enrol-

[4] A painful feature of Wisconsin state government finance, and I suspect of other states, is that so-called state agency budgets account for only about one-third of the total state budget. The major part of the budget goes for forms of local assistance such as school aids, state support of vocational-technical education districts, state contributions to health and welfare costs, property tax offsets, and the like. The "productivity saving" policy applied only to state agencies. The University System receives more than 50% of the total state budget for state operations. But, in 1975-76, it is receiving only 14% of *total state tax and federal tax sharing funding revenue*, and this is a decline from 17% in 1973-74.

lment profile. If an institution exceeded its enrollment projections, the state provided 50% of an increment, based on cost of instruction in the year when the increase occurred, and the remaining 50% for the following year. If an institution fell below its projections, it was required to return 50% of the cost of instruction per student in the year in which the decline took place, and the additional 50% in the following year.

This is an amiable formula for institutions or a system with growing enrollments, but it is a potential source of disaster for an institution facing an unanticipated decline. In 1972-73, several of the former Wisconsin State Universities experienced sharp declines in enrollment, and some of them had started on this road to fiscal misery a year earlier. In 1973-74, these institutions faced the need to "give back" funding, over and beyond their contribution to productivity savings on the basis of their 1972-73 enrollments, and had the further prospect of additional give-back in 1973-74, based on a continuing decline. For five of the universities, the combination of productivity savings and enrollment funding give-back added up to a fiscal emergency which could not be handled except through extensive termination of personnel. Given the fact that these universities also had very high tenure densities in departments most critically affected by declining enrollments, the personnel actions needed to include layoff of tenured faculty. For these campuses, the prevailing university mood of somber austerity turned into a problem of agonizing and unprecedented personnel decisions. For the system, it became the occasion for a series of improvisations, including temporary internal transfers of funding to observe termination notice requirements, declarations of fiscal emergency, interim guidelines on due process procedures to be observed in the layoff of tenured faculty or staff, and procedures for retraining and relocating as many of the laid-off faculty as possible.[5] Our actions and efforts related to the layoff of tenured faculty have received extensive national attention, particularly after a federal court decision upholding the validity of the procedures followed, but discussion of this topic would carry one far from the directions intended in this report. I mention the event only as a sign of the severity of our fiscal problems, and as an indication of the kinds of painful and

[5] Eighty-eight tenured faculty were given notice of a layoff in May 1973. As of Fall 1977, all but 16 of these had been relocated either within the system or elsewhere in higher education. Ten others currently held temporary positions within the system.

time-consuming crises which may be generated by abrupt fiscal decline.[6]

IV

An obvious but salient truth began to emerge from the experience of the system with fiscal decline in 1973-75, and from the increasingly apparent prospect that it would continue through the 1975-77 biennium. The truth was this: *It is all but impossible to do effective mid-range or long-range planning for a state system of higher education in the presence of continuing fiscal crises and the kinds of coping actions and improvisations such crises generate.* I do not mean to say that planning cannot or does not take place. Crises do cause faculty agencies and administrators alike to look more seriously and energetically toward the future, and to engage problems which might have been ignored in less somber times. I do mean to say that *the disproportions between those actions which might be most wise in the long run, and those actions which may be necessary in order to cope with crises, become increasingly clear.*

For example, most of our universities were faced with the need to undertake massive base-reductions and reallocations of resources in very short time periods. This meant that while many of the decisions may have been wise, others were assuredly made not because they represented good long-range educational or institutional planning, but because they were possible. For instance, the budgets of teaching departments were protected insofar as possible, and reallocations made from educational support services and maintenance and supply budgets. Few would quarrel with the general wisdom of such priorities, but one cannot indefinitely defer needed maintenance, or library acquisitions, or instructional equipment and supply needs, or appropriate levels of student service without generating long-range problems as critical as the crises which were avoided through the initial decisions.

As another example, faculties can and will meet short term overloads in instruction and advising, but the long-term implications of staff shortages may be severe. Will such choices lead to increas-

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[6] The final bit of fiscal trauma came when the Governor called upon state agencies to produce additional austerity "savings" of $5,000,000 in the final six months of 1974-75; the University System's share was $3,000,000.

ingly obsolescent scholarship? To instruction which is trivialized in order to make workloads tolerable? To withdrawal from public service and university outreach commitments? To an underinvestment of resources or energy in adaptation of research and instructional programs to emerging societal needs?

Throughout the current biennium the newly-merged UW System has been seeking aggressively to set in place the System-wide policies, procedures, and statements of priorities which would support effective mid-range and long-range educational planning. Institutional missions have been established. Personnel rules have been established. Planning principles have been established. The criteria, policies, and procedures for review of new academic programs, and for the continuous audit and review of established programs, have been put in place. Audit and review of all existing masters and specialist programs has been completed, and some 60 programs have been phased-out or consolidated. Audit and review of doctoral and undergraduate programs is underway in all of the institutions. Institutional mid-range and long-range academic plans have been drafted. But the possible disproportion between the agenda for the future charted by the system and its institutions, and the future which might be charted by continuing abrupt changes in public policy and fiscal directions, lent some air of unreality to all of this work.

V

By January of 1975, it was reasonably clear that the 1975-76 biennial budget of the University was going to be a continuation of austerity. As matters worked out ultimately through the Governor's recommendations and the actions of the legislature, the budget continued the policy of "productivity savings," although at a reduced rate. The savings are to be a cumulative 3% for the biennium from the 1974-75 base. With the prospect of enrollment growth once more visible, the enrollment-funding formula has been suspended.[7] No funding was provided for inflationary offset other than for utility costs. Of the 30 some 1975-76 budget decision items

[7] System enrollments increased by about 4,000 students in the Fall of 1975, despite efforts to control enrollments at four universities with relatively low support per student. Unless further controls are instituted, an additional growth of approximately 3,000 students is projected for 1976-77.

advanced by the Regents as claims against additional resources for reasons of inflation, workload increases, or new and changed services, all but a very few were rejected. The proximate cause for all this is the recession, joined to unavoidable cost increases (e.g., utilities) associated with inflation, joined to a consensus in state government that tax increases were out of the question. Indications are that the recession-born stringencies we face for 1975-77 are not different from those which will be faced by many state universities or university systems. If we are unique it is only because they follow hard upon major retrenchment in the biennium just concluded.

In early January, Governor Lucey addressed a letter to the president of the Wisconsin Board of Regents which made clear his assumption that the stringencies experienced and forthcoming for 1975-77 were likely to be the fiscal context faced by the system for the foreseeable future. He called attention to the high tax burden carried by the people of Wisconsin; to the changes in the state's economic climate which would no longer sustain a pattern of unrestrained university growth; to the need to anticipate living during the 1975-77 biennium within current dollar levels, regardless of enrollment growth or inflation; and to the need to anticipate a substantial decline in enrollments in the decade just ahead. Specifically the Governor asked that the Board of Regents consider the alternatives and make concrete recommendations for phasing out, phasing down, or consolidating existing campuses, colleges, and programs of the system for the purpose of freeing existing resources in the next four to six years in order to maintain the quality and health of that which remained.

The recommendations of the Regents were asked for by April 15, 1975, together with a statement of the legislative language which could be inserted in the language of the 1975-77 biennial budget to authorize implementation of the plan.

The letter made abundantly clear the strength of the Governor's intention to reduce the scope of the Wisconsin higher education system as a means of controlling the costs involved. It acknowledged a position previously taken by the Regents and central administration that the system could not continue to absorb decline in real resources without either a deterioration in the quality of its programs, or a reduction in access to those programs. It did not require immediate action, but it asked for immediate planning of Draconian action. It certainly reflected belief that the system had too many institutions, and that it would be particularly overbuilt if projected

enrollment declines in traditional age-pool students took place during the 1980's while all 27 campuses (13 universities and 14 centers) were still trying to do business as usual. The system had been informed that the letter was coming, and had asked either that it be deferred until after action on the 1975-77 budget, or that, alternatively, the Regents be given at least a calendar year to undertake an inquiry of the magnitude requested. I believe it was the Governor's assumption that speed was of the essence; that there would be no better time to lay plans for phasing down the system than in the midst of a recession while all state agencies were facing the most severe forms of fiscal distress, and while public concern with inflation, tax levels, the costs of government, unemployment, and the shape of the future was at its peak.

Did the Governor have the authority to require such a study of the Regents? The answer is that the Regents could have legally refused to respond to the request, but that to have done so would have been imprudent in the extreme. In point of fact, a draft analysis paper had already been prepared by the State Department of Administration suggesting various institutions which might be closed or phased down in the interests of economy. The possible consequence of a refusal by the Regents to respond would have been the preparation of legislative language by the Department of Administration. That possibility is speculative; the Regents did not seriously consider the possibility of refusal.

One might also ask if, in point of fact, the Wisconsin System is overbuilt. The question, which seems logical enough, is inherently frustrating because it cannot be answered except in the context of associated planning questions: Overbuilt for what purposes? Overbuilt in terms of what assumptions about the future needs of citizens for higher education? Overbuilt in relation to what assumptions about the priority society should assign to higher education? During this period, some of the Department of Administration analysts were fond of suggesting that effective planning for a system of reduced scope could be undertaken by assuming that Wisconsin had no institutions of higher education whatsoever, and then asking where one would locate the optimal number of institutions offering the optimal range of programs for student bodies of an optimal size to achieve optimal unit costs. Apart from its interest as an intellectual game, I found this suggestion conducive to high blood pressure, and on occasion suggested that, if we were going to plan higher edu-

cational systems in this manner, we should really drive back on first principles and start relocating cities, villages, industries, and the state's boundaries, many of which are quite improbably situated. Like universities, however, they are there because of a long historical process, and neither the economic nor the human consequences of replanning from point zero are necessarily salubrious.

A particular concern with overbuilding, underlying the Governor's letter and featured in many conversations with state government staff and some legislators, were the two-year centers. A number of these did seem, from superficial examination, to represent overbuilding. That is, they had campuses capable of accommodating student numbers not in evidence, and they were of a size which tended to make unit instructional costs conspicuously high. One center, which was enrolling only about 125 FTE students had received particular attention in an early cost study conducted by the Regents, as had four other centers enrolling between 200 and 300 students. By contrast, the universities of the system ranged in size from 3,000 students to 36,000 at UW-Madison. The centers were also generally of more recent vintage than the 13 universities, but they had a particular claim to community affection since the center campuses had been built with county and federal funds rather than by state funds. Their operating costs, however, were part of the UW System budget.

The Governor's letter caused the Regents to establish a 30-member System Advisory Planning Task Force consisting primarily of faculty members from around the system, but including some administrators. I had the fortune (or misfortune) to chair the Task Force. Within a period of approximately six weeks, the Task Force was to conduct such studies as would be necessary and useful to the President in preparing a report to the Regents which, following Regental review and approval would constitute an appropriate response to the Governor. The logistics of the entire enterprise are of some dramatistic interest but would require too much time to describe here.

In summary, however, the Task Force carried out simulation studies of the cost, educational, and human consequences of phasing out some six selected universities, seven centers, and a great range of schools, colleges, and support programs. We even simulated the phase-out of central administration, which added some leaven to an otherwise unappetizing task faced by the campuses. The Task Force

also prepared a series of analysis papers on such matters as enrollment projections;[8] the relationships of access, cost, and quality; the relationships of campus size, mission, and costs; the relationships of quality, cost, and investments for adaptation of changing societal needs; and the like. Further, it carried out, in cooperation with the State Department of Administration, studies of the fiscal and economic consequences of selected institutional closings. The Task Force papers and studies filled some five volumes and served, as planned, as the basis for the "President's Report in Response to the Governor's Request on Reducing the Scope of the University of Wisconsin System." This report, now known as the Scope Report, was approved by the Regents and delivered to state government on April 18, 1975.

The report consisted of a summary and three parts. In Part I, a series of statements on long-range planning perspectives for higher education were presented. In Part II, the system summarized its own planning approach, including its planning assumptions, processes for controlling costs, and a proposal for improving and stabilizing the planning environment. In Part III, the report stated the Governor's planning assumptions and the findings of the system in relation to those assumptions, and then made recommendations on how it would conduct the phase-out and phase-down of institutions and programs over a six-year period, should it be the directive of the legislature that such steps should be taken.

One cannot summarize a report of this magnitude here, but I will call attention to two of its central findings, and one of its central proposals which was to be endorsed by both the executive and legislative branches of state government.

The first finding was this: One cannot achieve significant cost savings by phasing out or phasing down higher educational institutions, unless one also moves at the same time to deny or reduce educational access and opportunity to all or a significant proportion of the students being served by the affected institutions and programs. In this sense, at least for the foreseeable future, public policy decisions concerning educational access, educational costs, and educational quality are inevitably linked to one another.

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[8] State planners are preoccupied with the projected decline of the 17-24 year age cohort in the 1980s. Projecting demand for university places in the 1980s is somewhat more complex, however. For example, if one projects age-cohort enrollments on the pattern already apparent in 1975, enrollments will not decline in the 1980s unless intervening controls or barriers are created.

The second finding, which was really a policy position, was that if the system, in order to reduce costs, must choose between the quality of its program and the level of access to its programs, it will choose to reduce access in order to maintain quality.

The central proposal was that state government join with the system in an effort to stabilize the fiscal and public policy boundary conditions within which the system should do its planning, and in order to maintain a four-year rolling front for university programmatic and fiscal planning. We call this "the proposal for a 2 + 2 planning process" (spanning two biennia), within which state government will seek to identify the approximate fiscal and public policy boundary conditions that it wishes the system to plan around, and the system will bring forward its biennial budget, including enrollment targets, fiscal targets, and programmatic goals and priorities. The university will also project its targets, goals, and priorities for the biennium beyond. What is envisaged is an all-out effort on the part of the system to reestablish a relationship with state government in which, however austere the fiscal boundary conditions, we will be able to carry out our planning and decision-making in an environment somewhat free from unanticipated fiscal crises and ambiguous public policy goals.

The 1975-77 biennial budget bill, recently passed by the legislature, included only a limited response to the President's report. The language of the bill reaffirmed legislative support for the twin goals of access and quality. It directed that the Board of Regents should: "Establish a four-year planning cycle, updated annually, for all institutions, specifying enrollment, fiscal and performance targets, and reduce the mission of institutions where necessary to maintain institutional and program quality within available resources."[9] It further asked that a feasibility study be carried forward on the

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[9] In the Fall of 1975, the system prepared a Prospectus on 2 + 2 planning to be used as a basis for discussion within the system, and between the system and state government. State government officials have given assurance that they will provide the system with statements of their fiscal and public policy assumptions for the next two biennia. There is general understanding that no one can commit the Governor's office or the legislature to specific fiscal and policy positions well in advance of the actual processes through which the 1977-79 budget will be proposed and enacted. Nor can action on the 1977-79 budget incorporate a commitment to specified fiscal and policy goals in 1979-81. There is every reason to hope that the process will reduce substantially the gaps between system assumptions and goals, and state government assumptions and goals. To this extent the environment prerequisite to effective planning can emerge.

possibility of consolidating the University of Wisconsin-Superior and the University of Minnesota-Duluth.[10]

There was no mention of closing institutions.

We have no illusion that prosperity is just around the corner for the University of Wisconsin System. We do have reason to hope that the relationship of crucial public policy issues to continuing experience with fiscal decline is now better understood by both the state government and the public, as well as by those within the University System. If this is the case, then we may be able to move from an environment of biennial, annual, and sometimes mid-year budgetary crises into an environment within which effective mid-range and long-range planning can take place.

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[10] The study of various approaches to increasing cooperation between the University of Wisconsin-Superior and the University of Minnesota-Duluth, was undertaken in Fall of 1975 under the aegis of the Lake Superior Association of Colleges and Universities. To no one's great surprise, the idea of merging the two universities has been greeted with little enthusiasm by the faculties. Various possibilities for stronger consortial relationships arouse less intense hostility.

Assumptions for State Level Leadership in the Future

Robert B. Mautz

For most of their history, state-supported universities were autonomous. In their external political relations, for example, they dealt directly with the legislators. The resulting appropriations determined policy, the location and size of a building, the inauguration or expansion of academic programs, and the competitive relationship of each institution both within and without the state. The affairs of state government were relatively few. Legislatures met infrequently, budgets were small, and decisions, although significant, were relatively easy to make. Then, alternatives were clear and choices were few.

In the decade following World War II, the web became more complex. The state assumed a larger role in our daily lives as the span of its concerns widened. Government increasingly regulated, subsidized, controlled, policed, and concerned itself with the welfare of its citizens. It assumed responsibility for the aged, the indigent, the physically and mentally ill. Populations grew exponentially. The clamor for free or low-cost quality education was extended downward to kindergarten and upward through graduate school. Our society increasingly depended upon a technological base which demanded a high level of education and extensive research capabilities. Universities expanded and multiplied; teacher colleges were designated universities, graduate programs proliferated.

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As state budgets became larger in response to new and more substantial demands, the old ways of determining the allocation of money were rendered outmoded and inadequate. State legislatures sought improved ways of conceptualizing and addressing the increasingly controversial questions with which they were confronted. They sought to deal broadly with the questions of allocation of additional support among categories such as mental health, roads, and education. Within the latter category, the proper balance between funding of kindergarten, education for the handicapped, and graduate and research programs became the focus of decisions. No longer could the legislature deal with the welter of conflicting data and frequently inconsistent claims presented by a larger number of individual and ambitious universities. The division of money between universities became buried in larger questions. Increasingly, political rather than educational considerations governed hasty and often uninformed decisions about the division of monies among the plethora of university petitioners. Planning for the future was uncoordinated, parochial, or simply non-existent.

The response of the states was to lodge responsibility for the planning and coordination of universities in a single agency. The legislature was thereby enabled to deal with broader conceptual questions—such as the division of resources between secondary and higher education—and allocate a proper percentage of the state revenue to each function according to its judgment. Boards were given authority to recommend the establishment of new institutions and the expansion of existing ones. They also were given authority to plan the distribution of students and programs among the institutions, as well as the location and size of facilities to house them. The outcome of the struggle between those who feared encroachment by such boards upon traditional institutional autonomy, and those who believed in the necessity for such unification, resulted in state boards which vary in terms of the duties and responsibilities allocated to them. Such boards range from coordinating bodies, possessing recommending authority only, to a single governing board, controlling a consolidated budget for all publicly supported universities. Since mid-1950, however, the trend has been clear and unmistakable: states without such central authorities established them, and those already with central boards strengthened their powers. At the present time, forty-seven states have central boards, as contrasted with seventeen in 1954.

On the whole, such boards have performed well under difficult circumstances. Much was expected and much was demanded of them. For a number of reasons, many of them failed to live up to those expectations. That they failed to meet these high expectations and the extraordinary demands does not indict them. That they performed satisfactorily in the light of reasonable expectations and the political situation in which they found themselves remains, on the whole, a valid judgment.

And, what of the future?

A number of factors in the next ten years will present problems requiring consummate wisdom and judgment. The handling of these issues will determine whether such boards continue with expanded responsibilities or whether fragmentation of our higher education structure occurs. Those major forces impacting on operations can be grouped under two large subject matter areas, although they overlap and affect one another. The first of these is the straitened fiscal outlook. The second is the prospective, rapid decrease in the size of the traditional college-bound student pool.

Fiscal Situation

From 1950 through the mid-1960s, the real income of universities increased rapidly and dramatically. One of the Carnegie Commission studies pointed out that higher education expenditures grew at a rate more rapid than that of the gross national product. Productivity remained constant or decreased. The unit cost of instruction increased. Large increments of manpower and funds were dedicated to research. Teaching loads were lowered. Professors became managers with large sums of money at their disposal. For hard scientists, equipment increased and was refined. Accelerators blossomed. Electron microscopes became common. Beginning in the late 1960s, the story line changed. Federal and state funds flowing into education either did not grow or grew at a decreasing rate. Real dollars per faculty member and per student decreased during the early 1970s. In 1974, abnormal inflation added to the burdens and the sense of frustration which this situation created. The scenario became one of doing the same, or even more, with less. The real income of faculty began to decrease. The impact of this twin devil of inflation and a stable income (or a decreased rate of

increase of that income) has had quality and programmatic effects. More importantly, it has had severe impact upon the expectations and morale of a generation which had been raised to believe the revolution of rising expectations was a standard part of its cultural pattern.

For a confluence of reasons, higher education is competing less and less successfully for the state and federal dollars. Priorities have been rearranged, and the period of affluence for higher education has passed, at least temporarily. Whether those priorities can again be reordered so that higher education receives a higher percentage of the revenues of state and federal governments is an open question.

Students

By now the slant of the curve indicating future decreases in traditional college-age students is a familiar one. It is based upon hard figures of individuals now living. The facts are incontrovertible: The decline will be as steep as was the incline. The beginnings of what could become extreme competition for traditional students are already evident. Many of these competitive steps impact upon previously sacrosanct and hallowed traditions. The grading system has eroded until the grade curve is a national scandal. Credit is granted by examination. Early admission is pressed into the junior year of high school. Increased financial aid becomes a means of opening new pools of students.

Competition for the traditional student is being followed by an attempt to expand education to other age groups. The buzz words are "career readjustment," "upgrading," and "life-long learning." Academic programs are installed in prisons and other previously ignored, off-campus locations. Television and radio courses are broadcast to shut-ins and housewives. Newspapers carry courses for credit.

Colleges will increasingly compete for these new kinds of students as well as for traditional students. Many seem to be attempting to outdo each other in designing courses to appeal to newly discovered groups. Ignored are the long history of continuing education, the failure of GENESYS and similar off-campus programs, the fact that education should be demanding work. Attempts to increase access should continue. However, claims that major new

sources of students can replace the losses visualized through a decrease in the size of the traditional group are unrealistic. Caution must be exercised to avoid further deterioration of standards: educational opportunity should not be confused with guaranteed success and a certain degree.

As universities excuse students from traditional work on one hand, they also seek to augment an artificial demand for college work through extended licensing and certification requirements. At the present time, only a faint stirring in this direction is evident. A demand for increased initial educational requirements for licenses and certificates, and a demand for continuing education requirements for license renewal, both appear likely as the ties between professional groups and educators become stronger because of self-serving mutual interests.

The decrease in the number of students which is likely to occur in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the confusion arising from the competition for students, will raise new and grave questions. For example, increased funding has been geared in part to increases in the number of students. Economies of scale enabled universities to utilize only a portion of the additional money appropriated to support new students. The remainder was diverted to experimentation, innovation, advanced research, and graduate work. The decrease in the number of students will aggravate the economic situation caused by the probability that higher education's share of the state and federal dollars will remain stable or even decrease. The past annual infusion of new funds, which enabled improvement in the quality and inauguration of new programs, cannot be taken for granted in the future. The advent of unions and the expansion of federal regulations in the name of the new humanism will render even more rigid that flexibility which we already regard as limited. The potential for a change in our collegial style of governance is on the horizon. The unwillingness of a governing body to interfere in the internal operation of universities will render it difficult for central boards to moderate the new competition for students.

In these circumstances, central governing bodies will become increasingly vulnerable and seemingly ineffective. They were established to make those educational decision previously made by the legislature, and to plan for orderly growth to assure wise allocation and use of resources. It was their ability to provide additional funds which rendered their restrictive actions acceptable to universities

accustomed to autonomy. It was their judicious use of resources which rendered them acceptable to the legislature. Wise management of resources with shrinking budgets will be more difficult, although more imperative. Wise management may call for decisions not palatable to individual institutions, nor to their local constituencies. Legislators, since they are politicians whose power derives from local constituencies, can easily differ as to the definition of the wise and judicious distribution of limited funds. The legislature may well demand and expect adjustment in programs and personnel policies which will be repugnant to the universities. As in the past, boards will be tagged by universities as the supporters and originators of legislative actions which they must implement. Thus, from the universities' standpoint, boards may well appear ineffective advocates, and from the legislative standpoint, ineffective managers. Central boards will have an ever more difficult task to preserve their autonomy and to protect higher education, while responding to the educational, economic, and political necessities of the day.

Allowed the freedom to speculate more freely about the nature of educational systems, what might one say? When removed from the corrosive necessity of making day-to-day decisions and from the abrasive contentiousness that accompanies the division of shrinking resources, what more expansive aspirations might one have?

Higher education has, as its function, the delivery of instruction, research, and service. To perform this function, it is heavily subsidized by taxes channelled through the state and federal government. To set forth the function of education and the source of money helps to answer the questions as to what services shall be delivered to whom, and for what purpose. To answer these questions helps define the role and function of state-level leadership.

As institutions age, they tend to become conservative. One of their principal concerns is perpetuation and aggrandizement. Hence, they become less likely to provide objective answers about their role in a changing world. Central governing and coordinating boards, while also victims of their own bias, have fewer encumbrances to restrict their thinking. At a minimum, such bodies are exposed to influences of which the universities are only dimly aware. They should, therefore, regard their role as one of broadly answering the questions unanswered, partially answered, or skewed by the self-interest of universities, of challenging existing practices, and of being agents of change. It is they who can broadly predict future

trends in enrollment, discern the educational needs of society, conduct studies to determine the fate of graduates, and reallocate resources to achieve varying and new goals.

If such boards were established to relieve the legislature of planning and allocation responsibilities, they must also substitute their sensitivity for the legislature's in responding to the demands of the constituents who provide the support which enables a higher education establishment to function. The constituents are neither the legislature nor the universities. Society as a whole is the constituent. One of the greatest attributes of a democracy is the role it plays as a safety valve. Groups in society with unmet needs have an opportunity, through the political process, to manifest their desires and to seek fulfillment of those needs. In the closed circle of the university, which is ultimately dedicated to elitist goals, the safety valve is non-existent. The need for those outside that circle to have their cries heard cannot be fulfilled. Central boards are once-removed from the immediate pressures of faculty and students. Such boards can perceive the potentials for serving groups who have been traditionally excluded from higher education, for retraining individuals whose skills have been outmoded, for providing opportunity to those who have matured after the normal age for attending a university has passed. Such bodies can understand the lockstep of a hierarchical structure whose standards were designed to provide a pyramid of certified competence. But if society may now also require skills measured by different standards, such boards can establish practices which break the lockstep and open the doors of opportunity for education for new roles in a changing society.

Nor does the above indicate that standards built up over the decades should be jettisoned. What it does signify is that a central board has an opportunity, and an obligation, to explore beyond the bounds of tradition and to seek diversity. Not all research, for example, need or should be fundamental or "pure." A central board has the potential to direct research towards solution of immediate problems confronting and baffling other state agencies. One has only to read the thesis topics listed on graduation programs and compare those topics with the realities of life to understand that much research and effort can be redirected to more productive ends without endangering accepted standards of scholarship.

Leadership in established institutions tend to balance internal forces in an effort to move slightly towards internally forged and

agreed upon goals. Those goals are defined in terms of emulating the "prestige" research and graduate-oriented universities. Leadership must also consist of rising above the immediate preoccupations of a narrow constituency and striking out in non-imitative ways. Leadership must seek detribalization of a society that is becoming increasingly narrow in its interest groupings and self-centered in its goals. Leadership should return to a grand vision. Perhaps, just perhaps, tribal leaders and their tribes have too narrow a political base and are subject to successful challenge by one who appeals to a broader constituency. But even if that assumption is incorrect, a humanist and 20th-century rational person has no alternative to bold thinking directed to maintaining education as the hope of all people. The role of education, the role of research, and the role of service need to be defined to serve humanity to the fullest possible extent. To worry about a balance of power, to seek maintenance of relative position in a contracting circle, to conceive goals in a tapering perspective, and to look only to tradition for answers: these surely are the roads to failure. They lead to the opposite of creative leadership, to stagnation, to limited service, and to the disillusionment of those from whom support must eventually flow. If leaders conceive of education as a way of providing opportunity to the broadest possible spectrum of mankind, in the most diverse possible fashion, and if they base their actions on faith in the capacity and desire of the individual to learn and improve, they will have fulfilled a vision of more complete leadership and grasped opportunities which can be ours.

Notes Toward a Theoretical Perspective

Durward Long

In our more than three centuries of higher education in the United States, large state systems are a relatively recent phenomenon. But today they are rapidly becoming the dominant type of organization within the public sector. The fifteen largest public universities, for example, are really university *systems*. During 1975-76, more college and university students were studying in institutions which are part of formal systems than in any other organizational type. And it is likely, in my opinion, that the system type of organization will continue to grow—at least for a time.

Despite the significant increase in the number and size of these systems over the past two decades, there has been little serious theoretical analysis of the higher education system as an organizational type. For that matter, with the exception of Lee and Bowen's two volumes on multicampus universities work, neither has there been much comparative description of systems.[1] Moreover, there has been little serious empirical research that analyzes the relationship of structure and size to the academic enterprise, although Peter Blau's *The Organization of Academic Work* is a commendable exception.[2]

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[1] Eugene C. Lee and Frank M. Bowen, *The Multicampus University*, New York, 1971; and *Managing Multicampus Systems*, San Francisco, 1975.

[2] Peter M. Blau, *The Organization of Academic Work*, New York, 1973.

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While theoretical analyses and articulated concepts about systems are still in short supply, most of us whose day-to-day work occurs within systems have reflected upon and discussed informally the theoretical perspective of systems *ad infinitum* (or *ad nauseam*). Nevertheless, it is probable that we have been too busy with the "snakes and gators" to reflect significantly upon the ecological composition of the swamp. As one who has long had an active interest in systems and who has served as an administrator in four of them, including three extremely complex ones, I believe very strongly that university systems have an enormous and largely unrealized potential for positive functions. On the other hand, many constraints operate within both the systems themselves and the society they are meant to serve which make it difficult for them to even begin to realize that potential. How can one present theoretical perspectives grounded in reality without overweighting the discussion towards the limitations inherent in systems? To focus only on the positive services and functions that systems *might* perform, without a realistic consideration of the constraints, might prove stimulating and even titillating, but it would also be misleading. It seems wise to emphasize at the outset, then, that the concepts and perspectives presented here assume that most system characteristics are two-edged—positive or negative, depending upon such factors as system management. The thread that ties these concepts together is the view that systems of higher education should utilize the *open system* and the *contingency approach* to structure and administration. Greater detail about these concepts is given by Richman and Farmer in their recent work, *Leadership, Goals, and Power in Higher Education*.[3] Both concepts advocate "a continuously importing-transporting-exporting system" that is dynamic and based on an understanding of the interrelationships of the organization with its external and internal environments.

Certain caveats are in order. First, any theory may be misused by a literal, cook-book application. Second, one should be aware of the indefiniteness with which the concepts here advanced also apply to free-standing large campus units. Finally, the distinction between "systems of higher education" and "university systems" ought to be kept in mind, although most of the concepts I suggest in this presentation apply to both.

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[3] Barry M. Richman and Richard N. Farmer, *Leadership, Goals, and Power in Higher Education*, San Francisco, 1974.

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During the fifty years following 1920, extraordinary growth trends in science, technology, business corporations, and government resulted in the emergence of large—sometimes gigantic—and complex organizations to carry out differentiated, wide-ranging, and geographically dispersed functions. Closely related to this trend in institutional growth has been a massive expansion of education at all levels. Enrollment in higher education doubled every 15 years between 1870 and 1950, and this increase was even greater after 1950. Undergraduate enrollment increased from 600,000 to 6,500,000 in the last fifty years, while graduate enrollment increased from 15,600 to 826,000. The number of college degrees earned went from 50,000 to 500,000, and doctoral degrees increased from 615 in 1920 to 18, 237 in 1966. Other data confirm this extraordinary growth: the expanded tax support for higher education, the capitalization of buildings and campuses, and the number of new colleges (from 1,041 to 2,230 in the fifty-year period).

One effect of such growth has been an expansion in the average size and enrollment of institutions. In 1920, the "average", institution of higher learning had 50 faculty and 500 students; in 1966, the average was 270 faculty and 2,500 students—a five-fold increase in average size. This growth in size has been accompanied by increasing differentiation among the fields of knowledge and the functions of institutions of higher learning. And with these changes have come the more highly formalized organizations and larger complex structures which carry out so much of today's higher education. Today the fifteen largest public universities are multicampus organizations which provide instruction to nearly one-fourth of all students in formal higher education.

Quite apart from the basic need to develop new organizational structures for large institutions, systems of colleges and universities have emerged from two basic thrusts. First, there have been external political decisions to combine several institutions under one governing board, based on objectives like these:

1) To achieve fiscal economy, and to operate as a restraint on growth;

2) To achieve a reduction in lobbying and legislative interaction;

3) To increase the development of uniform institutional policy consistent with larger public policy;

4) To focus accountability more clearly;

5) To improve statewide planning, and to reduce unnecessary duplication;

6) To reduce social stratification, and to promote equalitarian motives.

Systems have also been created by external political pressures as part of an attempt to strengthen the linkage of higher educational policy and administration with the larger social and political environments—an attempt whose potential is greatly overestimated by politicians.

Second, systems have developed by natural growth—adding new units (centers, branches, and satellites) to a single institution which eventually become complete campuses—or by the construction of entirely new campuses directed and nurtured by older campuses. This type, usually called a "flagship" system, results not only from a wish to meet educational needs, but also from:

1) A desire by the "flagship" constituents, faculty and administration, to retain power in the state and national environment by achieving a share of the total growth in enrollment and investment without unreasonable growth and enrollment pressures on the "flagship" campus;

2) A desire on the part of state authorities to focus accountability, to maintain differentiation of functions, and to reduce lobbying;

3) A political desire to provide a competing off-set to another system and thereby to serve as a constraint on that other system (or systems).

Flagship systems usually occur in states with segmented systems (that is, several systems having different missions and scope) such as California, North Carolina, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas. In some states, these segmented systems have served as a precursor to a comprehensive state system, as in North Carolina and Wisconsin. Then the flagship system is merged with another type of system within the state to achieve the objectives enumerated above and also, perhaps, improve articulation and disciplinary comprehensiveness.

A president of a large midwestern multicampus university has said informally that he has a litmus test for defining a university system which he applies to the great range of structures that have emerged from state to state. He asks: Do the units within a particular structure focus ultimately on a single board of control which has powers of trusteeship vested in it? If the answer is yes, then that structure is a single educational institution with multiple units. He suggests that the task of the president of such an organization does not difter one whit from the fellow who is in charge of Ohio State—with one variation: organizational dispersion in the governance organization. Nor, in his view, is his job different from the President of a much smaller private university like Colgate, except in two dimensions: 1) a greater scale and organizational dispersion (in terms of theories of leadership and questions of governance), and 2) different methods of accountability. He suggests that we are mistaken if we assume these are fundamental differences.

This president asks further: Do those who make decisions have to answer to constituents on Monday morning? Is there an accountability linkage between those who are acting and those who are to respond? One development most feared by systems administrators is the creation of coordinating boards that are transcendent to powers of boards vested with policy and administrative responsibilities—boards vested with implementation, but which make decisions with no accountability built into the reverberating circuit. This suggests mischief on the part of those decision-makers who have no accountability links with students, faculty, or administration. The real question is: What is the organizational distinction between a university whose board has constituent activities *within* it, and a coordinating board?

This system president also suggests a generic classification of systems deriving from their origins. There seem to be two distinct categories. There is the system which is a single university occurring in several locations, but behaving like one replicated university.

Examples are the universities of Missouri, Illinois, Texas, and California—all with campuses in a number of places, but each fundamentally *a* university. A good bit of the impetus for that kind of a system comes from within, unlike the present statewide systems in Wisconsin or North Carolina. In this sense, the State University of New York is like the Wisconsin and North Carolina systems, whereas one could call the Missouri/Illinois/California-type systems "homogeneous." SUNY is like North Carolina in terms of the basic characteristic of a single institution doing different things in different locations. Wisconsin and North Carolina are examples of a heterogeneous system having a variety of institutions federated into a single governance system.

* * *

The homogeneous system, like California or Illinois, has generated a proliferation of campuses from within, presumably for the purpose of carrying the educational services of that system closer to the people and in more locations. Thus, the University of California has nine campuses, basically generated from within that system. Federations that have been put together as statewide systems, generally speaking, did not generate from within. They were imposed by external political forces. The Wisconsin merger, for example, was a matter of political imposition: both governor and state legislature decided that this merger would end competition and unnecessary duplication. All institutions were placed under a single governance system with the idea that the central system would have a strong restraining hand in eliminating "unnecessary competition" between institutions.

Should the coordinating board be put in the business of restraining duplication? In a great many states the coordinating board was supposed to act as the restraining arm of state government which would prevent institutions from competing unnecessarily. Wisconsin had a coordinating board, but state government eventually became completely disenchanted with the board because it was unable to enforce adequate restraints; the university systems appeared to manipulate it. So the coordinating council went down the drain, and the state created a single statewide system with a single government supposed to have greater coordinating strength and greater ability to relieve the frustrations of state government over unending

competition. One may view the coordinating council in this classification scheme as a forerunner of statewide university governance. State government exercises a planning and restraining function.

* * *

To understand the origin of the system, one must examine at least two different kinds of creative impetuses. One midwestern system president has observed that the most unstable kind of system is the heterogeneous one, where the pressure comes from outside motivated by restraint. Such a system is a no-win game for the political establishment, so long as the universities are managed by professional educators rather than political arms. The educator's greatest fear about the statewide system is that state government will make the statewide system administration into a political arm of restraint instead of an educational, planning arm that effectively and responsibly seeks to meet the higher educational needs of the commonwealth.

California is a good example of a system that grew from within, but even there a caveat is in order. After World War II, the University of California scrambled mightily to get pieces of turf so that the State College system, over which it did not have control, would not dominate. The two biggest battles were waged in San Diego and Santa Barbara. The University of California lost the San Diego struggle at first, but later established its own campus in nearby La Jolla. In Santa Barbara, the University of California won and took over a teachers college previously under the state college system.

On the other hand, SUNY was formed in 1948 as a result of the G.I. bill and other growth factors. The belief was that expanding expectations could not be met within the sector of highest demand because that sector, though perhaps for the right reasons, was not inclined to be the expansionist multi-purpose institution. It has been said that those opposing the creation of a new university system in New York at that time were the super-board members who felt it threatened their overall control. The plan to create a university in the broad sense, with its own board, led to a vicious battle because the new system would gain autonomy and expansion with a loss of control by the education board.

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Both Clark Kerr and Cyril Houle suggest that we have entered a transitional phase between significant eras of institutional characterization. This "climacteric," as Kerr terms it, also exists for institutions in American society other than colleges and universities; indeed, most of our institutions are suffering the stresses and tensions of contemplated change, laboring to bring forth a strengthened model of the past, or entirely new institutions. It is precisely because colleges and universities in the United States *have* been closely associated with social, economic, and political trends and developments that they, like other societal institutions, are in this transitional phase.

Developments in higher education over the past two decades suggest an intense concern over structural changes. These developments, including the emergence of systems, also suggest that structural changes represent an intense struggle between the internal concerns for protective "buffers" against governmental involvement in institutions, and the external concerns for more participation in the determination of educational policies and practices within institutions. The governing boards of single "flagship" campuses have become boards for systems, a change which has removed them from close involvement with campuses and transformed them into corporate boards. They are seen internally as buffers and externally as administrative and "public" policy agencies.

But what about the educational mission of systems? It is essential that systems of higher education not subordinate all to the application of knowledge to immediate social problems, but that they also be responsive to the larger educational needs, advancing the pursuit of knowledge for its timeless value. The dilemma institutions face in this accommodation is a serious challenge which requires the most skillful and understanding leadership.

And what are the differences between leadership, management, and administration? Leadership is inspirational, attractive direction-setting. It is, I think, a kind of futurism. Genuine leadership, though, is grounded in reality; otherwise it becomes prophecy. On the other hand, "management" mainly conveys to academics the notion of implementing goals which were set elsewhere, while "administration" conjures up an even more mechanical bureaucratic performance.

"Leadership" is the establishment of a direction for multiple points of activity, integrated toward a common future. The integration of leadership in a large organization is highly important in achieving the larger goals of that organization. Effective leader-

ship of systems does, in fact, involve many leaders, but those leaders cannot be going in conflicting directions. That is exactly what happens in dysfunctional systems. Integrated leadership is not achieved through simply homogeneity; it means moving in the same general direction.

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A state is often tolerant of an unresponsive university system in proportion to how many other education or service systems are there to meet perceived educational and service needs. If the university system in question is the only public higher education system in the state, public tolerance for university unresponsiveness is quite low; in a state with several segmental systems, the tolerance may be higher.

On the whole, systems came into being *to simplify the state's task at the time*. That old political saw of "If we agree on policy, let's don't drag values or goals into it" has affected many governmental decisions regarding higher education. Many systems were organized to expedite the state's task of expansion and growth, as in California and New York. The state agencies simply did not want to take over day-to-day operation. But now that we are moving into a new age with new conditions, the systems are going to be used again to simplify the state's task, whatever that task is perceived to be. And if the systems do not respond in a way that seems to be supportive, the state will modify the unresponsive system.

University systems have characteristics both of a bureaucracy and a profession. They include formal division of labor, specialized personnel, and a hierarchy of administrative levels. However, these bureaucratic elements are not (or should not be) dominant. While the system's personnel enjoy comparatively high status, income, and influence, its "clients" are not comparable to clients of other professions, nor is its response to those "clients" like the responses of other professions to their clients. No other profession, for example, concentrates on making similar professionals out of its clients, or on assisting its clients to develop many of the qualities, skills, and characteristics held by the professionals.

These complex organizations have a preponderance of "knowledge-workers" as personnel. This has significant implications for their structure and management: those that are structured in ways

that enable members to deal effectively with knowledge-based tasks will provide powerful sources of social and psychological satisfaction for their workers. Yet this preponderance of knowledge-workers also poses unique problems of management and authority. The theory proposed by C. I. Barnard for formal organizations may be particularly applicable to systems of higher education. Barnard suggests that authority exists only if a person (or group of persons) is *willing* to have his range of actions constrained or directed by another person (or group). In short, authority is conferred by "subordinates" on their "superiors." According to Barnard, authority does not necessarily emanate from the top down through an organization but is subject to a process in which various accommodations are worked out. Large numbers of knowledge-workers influence the development of equilibrium between various constituents and their goals within the organization. To quote Fred Balderston in this context, "The boundaries of the organization are not limited by its legal definition but by the functional ways in which various classes of participants are involved in it."[4] Moreover, most of these workers perceive themselves to have a greater stake in the long-term good health of the institution than the administrators who "lead" it, especially the president. The chief officer's average term (7 years?) seems to give credibility to that view.

Systems of higher education, then, are much more nearly like public human service organizations. As such, they are more subject to the concepts of public administration than to those of business management. This view focuses on the multi-purpose nature of higher educational systems, and on the variety of constituents and goals involved, in contrast to a single primary goal (profit, capitalization, etc.) demonstrable by quantitative measures. Systems are multi-purpose, multi-constituent, and utilize a wide variety of methods to accomplish their objectives. The locus, process, and mechanisms of decision-making are of primary importance in university systems, as they are in public service units. One may confuse or lose the value of the public administration model and its characteristics, however, if one focuses on purely political aspects. While higher education systems, like other public service and administration units, are greatly affected by considerations of the various constituencies, they must not respond in a purely political manner,

[4] Frederick E. Balderston, *Managing Today's University*, San Francisco, 1974, p. 5.

choosing only those courses of action which will receive the most immediate, or most important, of support.

Both university systems and other units of public administration are budget or input driven, rather than market or output driven. A university system's success, especially to insiders, is often measured by its ability to increase its budget. Drawing from single-campus experiences and norms, systems consistently emphasize the resources present in and allocated to an institution as a measure of its value and quality. For that reason, we practice fund-accounting more than cost-accounting, justify resource needs by standards of input, and are program-oriented rather than product-oriented.

* * *

Systems are hostages to the images which participants and the public have of them. A fundamental aspect of this imagery relates to the internal perceptions of the system as a homogeneous or a heterogeneous multi-campus institution. Though there are differences of history that control the system, it is more important when there are differences in *kinds* of missions among units within the system. This is especially clear in the case of the University of Wisconsin system, with its "university cluster" of two campuses among a total of twenty-seven, and in the case of the University of California system, with all nine campuses considered universities having the same broad functions.

The chancellor of one of the nation's largest systems has observed that the function of a system is, in some respects, determined by the way it perceives itself as having an internal equilibrium. For example, there is much diversity in the State University of New York, but an internally perceived kind of "evenness" exists across the system. Homogeneity of units in a system is rarely as real as the internal participants' perception of the *nature* of the unit mission. There are considerable differences between many of the University of California campuses—say, UCLA, Santa Cruz, and Santa Barbara. Nevertheless, the nature and function of all these campuses are perceived to be in equilibrium. This institutional self-image is fundamental to system behavior.

The "academic" is as subject to ideology and stereotype as any other group within society. In fact, it may be the ideology of the

professional image, quite apart from conformity to scholarship and rational practices, that serves as a fundamental force in creating group identity within the academy. In the academic ideology, the image of a university system and its administration carries negative freight, only a half-step above that of government agencies and coordinating boards. Often this image serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy; the units behave according to their image, and the central administration responds with equally predictable behavior.

There are two chief reasons for the "campus perception" of the system: accountability, and information function. If all other functions are decentralized, and if these two central functions are emphasized, all communication and interaction between the system's administration and campuses focus on activities related to them. Accountability carries with it responsibility for allocation of resources, while information function carries with it a basis for judgment in the allocation process. When communications between system officers and unit officers focus on these two areas, this emphasis constitutes a potential threat to positive relationships.

Systems have emerged simultaneously with a variety of quantitative instruments of management. As a consequence, the systems themselves are often viewed by faculty and other internal groups as the *cause* of these management practices. Program analyses, space utilization ratios, economy of scale criteria, student credit-hour ratios, critical mass, and the like are too often seen by internal constituents as direct results of system organization. There may be some relationship, of course, but the more accurate view may be that complex academic functions in large organizational units require new and more complex methodologies of management. Systems may even have softened the brunt of applying these methods by formulating management alternatives more suited to the academic enterprise.

A significant dilemma faced by systems and their administrations is a contradiction between prevailing trends of organizational practice in most public institutions. On the one hand, there is a trend toward greater order, systematization, routinization, and predictability—a "tightening up." At the same time, there is also a trend toward greater openness, sharing, creativity, horizonal decision-making, individual initiative, and fulfillment—a "loosening up." It is the tone and style of leadership response that determines the dominant mode of organizational practice and image.

The first step toward that leadership is self-consciousness. All system leaders inherit an image. But to change it, one must first be aware of it. What is it? How was it developed? What means of transmitting and receiving are there in the system that continue that image? Looking for action broader than mere public relations rhetoric, the leader must stimulate action that changes the reality on which the old image is based. Constructive and creative services that are supportive to campus units must be included in the functions of central administrations. Too many systems *do* live up to the image of oppressive bureaucracy because they substitute inflexible devotion to suffocating corporate procedures and policy for true decision-making at appropriately decentralized points. In my view, the very nature of systems of higher education requires the inclusion of a catalyst function that must dominate even the technical and administrative functions.

* * *

Until recently, organizational theorists have tended to view the internal functioning of effective organizations as if there were only one best way to organize. Little attention was directed towards the external conditions or the differentiated internal functions that might require different organizational characteristics within the organization. Systems of higher education, too, until recently, have assumed that there is only one best way to organize—often determined totally in response to the *internal* functions, since these are regarded as primary. But the effective system organization will be structured in recognition of both the external and internal environments. Because highly dynamic conditions exist in many functional areas, tentative and "disposable" structures often provide more flexible responses and alternatives. And there should also be consideration of providing a redundancy factor for reliability, both in internal and external functions.

* * *

In all effective systems, it appears to me, there is a mix of operations and policy development and administration, of centrali-

zation and decentralization, of unit autonomy and system integration. The more important considerations are the environments by which effectiveness is determined, the locus of effective decision-making in specific functional areas at specific times, and the degree to which each management approach is required to make the system educationally sound. Are there some organizational characteristics that *always* assure a high probability of achieving the goals of the organization? Does any particular cluster of characteristics assure an overall advantage or disadvantage? Could it be that, while each organizational characteristic may have a *tendency* toward advantage or disadvantage, the final effect upon each specific goal is likely quite variable and dependent upon certain other factors than the characteristic itself? Size and geographical dispersion, for example, may be a disadvantage in terms of effective communications, but it may serve as an advantage in relation to flexibility or diversity.

Generally speaking, the advantages of *systems* of higher education include the following:

1. Systems unify external relations and cushion the relationship of state politics and higher education;
2. They make diversity and specialization more possible;
3. They encourage better management;
4. They facilitate planning and manage growth or decline;
5. They increase the capacity for flexibility and reducing duplication.

And the chief disadvantages of systems are that:

1. They increase bureaucracy—a multiplicity of administrative layers;
2. They are lethargic and slow to move;
3. They are less collegial in management and less personal in administrative approach;

4. They shift the locus of decision-making away from the action, so that information is "filtered" to leaders;

5. They exhibit greater generality in policy and planning, producing lowest-common-denominator policies that "fit" all units.

Each of these identified advantages and disadvantages could also be reversed in terms of specific objectives. For example, some would argue that the system's role as a *buffer* to state politics often turns into a *conduit*; likewise, others may suggest that the role of buffer serves as a disadvantage, rather than an advantage, because institutions *should* be affected by the political process.

* * *

The more complex and differentiated a system is, the more it needs integration (not uniformity) toward common goals and objectives, however multiple they may be. Integration may be accomplished by a number of different communication and organizational efforts, but a positive image and belief system is of the greatest importance in the pursuit of those goals.

The Analogy with Other Systems

Adam Yarmolinsky

Working within a multi-campus educational institution is rather like sitting in a theater equipped with a cinerama screen. Immediate impressions tend to crowd out the outside world. But there are significant parallels between the multi-campus institutions and other large public or quasi-public systems, and some of them may help to illuminate not only the problems but also the opportunities in size and multiplicity.

I

Large systems in government are nothing new; they began with the Post Office and the military. In the last quarter-century, however, the large systems in government have grown even larger as various related services were consolidated under the aegis of single departments or agencies at federal, state, and local levels.

At the federal level, this trend can clearly be seen in the unification of the military and in the establishment, among others, of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Transportation.

The unification of the United States military establishment, beginning on a very limited scale in 1947, created the largest organization in the world, in order to coordinate weapons development,

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procurement, training, and strategy for land, sea, and air operations. Unification took place very slowly and is still far from complete. It was not until 1953 that the Secretary of Defense acquired anything like an adequate staff of his own, and it was not until 1961 that the Secretary really asserted his authority. As late as 1961, the Army and Air Force maintained separate reserves of ammunition and equipment on quite inconsistent assumptions about the probable length of a war in Europe. But the requirements of national security and the pressures on the federal budget have combined to create a continuing—if somewhat spasmodic—impetus towards joint planning for common objectives.

The creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1953 at first amounted only to a small cabinet-level office perched precariously on top of a loose federation of agencies. The interrelationships among the three areas of the Department have only gradually produced some common planning. But again it is increasingly apparent that federally funded social services are both too essential and too expensive not to be brought under single overall management. Whatever one thinks of the budget-cutting policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations, it seems clear that the individual components of the department would not have been as responsive in cutting their own budgets—as the individual military departments would not have been as responsive in cutting their budgets.

The Department of Transportation was created in 1966 to bring together a number of independent agencies and pieces of other cabinet departments. It was intended to develop a unified transportation policy—although some key transportation regulatory agencies, the ICC and the CAB, were not brought into the fold. Despite these exclusions, the Department has helped to orient operating agencies, like the Coast Guard and the Bureau of Public Roads, more towards overall transportation issues.

At the state level, there has been a movement to rationalize administrative structures by the creation of cabinet-level departments, or super-agencies, in a number of states. This has been done to reduce the governor's span of control to a more manageable number of entities, instead of the scores, or even hundreds, that reported to him directly before this reorganization took place. These new departments are better able to respond to the enormously increased size and complexity of state government. Related functions are

brought together under a single head, with a central staff responsive to the priorities established by the central administration.

At the local government level, two developments are relevant. There are beginning attempts, or at least suggestions, to rationalize the patchwork of overlapping single-purpose districts within large municipal governments. This allows for multi-purpose geographical subunits within a municipality, with a wide enough range of responsibilities (local police, fire, sanitation, and, perhaps, elementary education) to generate real citizen participation at the neighborhood level. Proposals have been developed to delegate some degree of budgetary authority to these subunits, so that they can reallocate funds among the various functions they perform locally. At the same time, such an arrangement would require more complicated and sophisticated budgetary planning at the municipal level, in order to integrate local and city-wide functions, as well as to relate to metropolitan area responsibilities (pollution control, transportation planning). Thus, multiplication of levels in the central governments of large cities requires more complex organization, in recognition of the fact that municipal government, like federal and state government, must be constructed and operated as a part of a multi-level system.

New systems are also appearing in the guise of public or quasi-public corporations, to undertake complex tasks more effectively performed outside the framework of government itself. The need to integrate a complex new satellite-communications system produced the Comsat Corporation, just as the need to integrate a failing passenger rail network produced Amtrak. The Post Office was turned over to a new public corporation, the U. S. Postal Service. Also, that part of arts and humanities public-funding needs being met out of the U. S. Treasury is disbursed by public foundations, the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, which work closely with fifty state Councils.

With all of these developments, some observers may see a counter-movement in the increasing tendency of higher levels of the federal government to delegate functions—and funds—through various forms of revenue sharing. But what is involved here is not the abandonment of controls within a large national organization. Rather, it is the transfer of controls, generally from a single-purpose national organization to multi-purpose state or local organizations, which is involved. When a categorical federal program in, say,

special education, is transferred through general or special revenue-sharing, management controls are moved from the national level to the state or local levels. Thus, one level of management is eliminated, but other levels may be added within state or local government. And the critical point is that levels of control stop only where direct responsibility to a constituency comes to bear on bureaucracy. Revenue sharing does not mean freeing subunits of bureaucracy from central controls. It is only a very limited step towards decentralization. Where it has occurred, it has removed some controls from federal funding programs, but it has not yet resulted in the dismantling of any large public systems, nor has it caused (so far as one can ascertain) any net reduction in public employment.

II

Large systems are, by definition, bureaucracies. But large systems have one great potential advantage over small systems. At the highest levels of a large system, if the focus of the decision-makers is on anything more than just staying in the saddle, it almost has to be on large issues. Every bureaucracy tends naturally to sub-optimize: to pursue the goals and objectives of its own organization, beyond the point where they contribute to large objectives. But the top levels of a large bureaucracy have a broader range of interests and concerns, so they are slower to diverge from the general public interest.

The factors that determine the effectiveness of a large system are primarily the controls employed by its top levels over the activities of its working levels. This is more or less independent of the degree of hierarchy in the system. Effective controls are as important in the National Institutes of Health or the HUD regional office structure as they are in the Department of Defense or the U. S. Postal Service—even though this generalization is somewhat obscured by the current tendency in the management of professional organizations to deemphasize management authority.

It is an ancient tradition, reenforced by the teachings of modern social psychology, that—for a professional—supervision is a privilege of the person being supervised. Non-directive but supportive supervision is likely to have the most beneficial effects on productivity. Nor is this kind of supervision at the working level in any way in-

consistent with comprehensive controls by central management over subunits. Working-level management in this kind of enterprise is primarily concerned with facilitation. Higher levels of management are primarily concerned with the allocation of scarce resources. Working-level management, for example, maintains optimum conditions for basic research. Higher levels of management have to decide, and to review the mix of substantive areas in which basic research is conducted. Consequently, these higher levels cannot afford to adopt a *laissez faire* attitude toward such decisions—although they can invite major input from all levels into the decision-making process. The growing emphasis on non-directive supervision at the working level actually makes the controls exercised by higher levels of management more important.

Despite this phenomenon of non-directive supervision, therefore, large public systems are not abandoning central management controls. We need to observe how these controls operate, and then see how they interact with the process of decentralization, and with the new and potent idea of community control. This analysis should offer a number of parallels to the processes of public systems of higher education.

III

Large bureaucracies are controlled through a combination of three instruments: the power of the purse, the power of appointment (not always matched by the power to dismiss), and the power over channels of information.

The power of the purse is the basic management tool in large organizations. When an organization is so big that top management cannot tell people directly what to do (or how to do it), it can still control the availability of dollars, and make sure that they are spent only to do what top management wants done. It is a precondition of budgetary management that budgets be organized and expressed in terms of major functional objectives, cutting across the lines of subunits within the organization. That is why functional budgeting was the key to civilian control of the military establishment under Robert McNamara. That is also why functional budgeting was introduced into other government agencies, from federal executive departments to city halls, though with varying degrees of success. If dollars are allocated by categories that correspond to the

jobs which central management wants done, the dollars can be traced through the actual operations of the organization, and the effects can be measured.

Of course, it is not all that simple. Budgets must be assembled by the existing bureaucracy, and the temptation is considerable to engage in a kind of double-entry bookkeeping, using functional line items simply to cover the obligations and expenditures that the organization expects to incur in order to stay in business. This "double bookkeeping" criticism was addressed particularly to the attempt to apply functional budgeting in other federal agencies, after it had been developed in the Defense Department.

Even with the Defense Department, budgetary controls may be illusory. When the Strategic Intelligence divisions of the three military departments were merged into a single Defense Intelligence Agency, the departmental budgets for the collection and organization of information on foreign military technology began to expand unaccountably.

One way to minimize this difficulty is to call for zero-base budgeting. That is to say, each year's budget is to be constructed as if the organization were starting fresh, without reference to spending levels or allocations for the previous year. But this assumption is so clearly contrary to fact that it tends to break down in the face of established interests within the organization, where individuals are anxious to maintain ongoing operations, to keep their jobs, and to preserve their responsibility and authority. When the question is asked "What should we be doing?", the first response is likely to be: "Here is what we are doing now; let's use that as a base line."

The logical difficulties of zero-base budgeting are compounded by the practical difficulties in eliminating or cutting back existing programs. Once a program has been put into operation, it begins very rapidly to build two kinds of constituencies: an external constituency of people who benefit from it—the recipients of funds or services—and an internal constituency of employees whose careers are dependent on it. This second constituency of employees establishes early and direct links with legislators who, in turn, derive prestige and publicity from the continuing growth and expansion of an enterprise they have sponsored.

If budgetary controls cannot be completely effective by themselves, then central management needs to get control of the personnel system, so that people who understand (and are sympathetic to)

overall management objectives will be moved into positions of authority. Here the difficulties arise because every large organization has an internal personnel-management system through which the bureaucracy selects people for advancement and provides some form of tenure in office. This system also expels members of the organization who do not meet its minimum standards—including standards of uniformity. Any significant interference with the system, from the outside or from on top, has a destructive effect on organizational morale, and may reverberate in the legislative corridors, through the network of informal relationships between bureaucrats and legislators. Old-line bureau chiefs in federal agencies generally have closer ties with congressional committees than their departmental bosses do.

At the top of the bureaucratic pyramid, central management has more latitude to make selections in accordance with its own criteria—but, in some cases, only from individuals who have survived the processes of bureaucratic selection throughout their careers. Selection for three- and four-star posts within the military is generally regarded as the prerogative of the Secretary of Defense and the White House—but these selections are only made from within that group of officers who have already attained two-star rank. When President Truman sought a promotion for a favorite military aide, the law prevented him from adding the name to the list sent over from the Pentagon for his approval—but he reputedly sent it back more than once with a notation that he missed his candidate's name, before the name was reluctantly added.

The contrast between State and Defense in this respect is interesting. By custom, only a portion of the ambassadorial posts are reserved for foreign service officers, but FSO's frequently serve as assistant secretaries and deputy assistant secretaries. In Defense, there is essentially no lateral entry into the military personnel system, but assistant secretaryships, and most deputy assistant secretaryships, are filled by non-career civilians.

One of the simplest indices of the authority of central management in government agencies is to check how far down in the structure the central appointing authority extends, or, conversely, how far up positions are being occupied by career service appointees. What is involved here is the power of the agency head—generally a political appointee or an elective official—to determine who shall be his key lieutenants. By and large, he is less likely to have this power

to any significant degree in an older and more established agency. In the U. S. Office of Education, for example, the assistant commissioners are civil servants; in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the assistant directors are political appointees. A different but related kind of problem arises in state government, where the chief executive may find that most or all of his principal associates are elected officials, and therefore somewhat more resistant to common planning efforts and unified operations.

Government does not employ the device of formal search committees, so familiar to the academic world. However, an equivalent informal procedure for new appointments outside the civil service involves consultations with representatives of all interested groups in both executive and legislative branches. For Presidential appointments, the formal advice and consent of the Senate is required. Still, central management has greater latitude in filling those positions within its control.

If a position can be filled by central management, it can usually be vacated by the same authority. Even if the appointment is for a fixed term, it may be terminated before the term is over—but such a termination involves a political price. When the terms of office for members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were extended from two to four years during the early '60s this extension was taken as a reduction in the power of the Secretary of Defense and the President—not because they lacked the power to change the incumbent in midterm, but because it would be politically difficult to do so. Significantly, the term of the Chairman still runs for only two years.

The power of the purse and the appointment power, taken together even at their strongest, are ineffective if central management cannot maintain its access to the channels of information. Getting reasonably accurate, timely information out of a large organization is extraordinarily difficult. There are enough nuances to almost any question that, in the absence of clear and consistent guidelines, the answer can be adjusted according to what the respondent thinks the questioner wants to hear—or to what is likely to make the questioner most sympathetic to the respondent's needs and desires. Whether the question is how many missiles in the inventory, or how many minority group members in the agency, there is more than one way to calculate the answer.

The first requisite for an effective flow of information is a set of system-wide procedures for counting people, things, and events, so

that everyone uses the same numbers to correspond to the same sets of facts. Such a system also helps to meet the problem of sorting out useful from useless information—distinguishing the signal from the background noise. There is almost always too much information, rather than too little, coming up through the system. The bureaucracy can always provide more computer printouts. The only difficulty is interpreting them.

Beyond this elementary requirement, the system managers need to do enough random checking to avoid outright fraud, and they need to have enough analytical capacity to match the wits of analysts in the subunits of the system. In the early days of the McNamara Pentagon, the real talent in systems analysis was concentrated in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. But the military departments soon caught on to the new way the game was played, and they began sending some of their brightest young officers off to school to learn the new skills, so that they could set up their own systems analysis shops at the military service level and below.

Outside consultants can help central management to organize and analyze the flow of information from its various subunits. There is a definite tradeoff here, however, between ease of access for the consultant to raw data within the subunit, and the willingness of the consultant to reveal to central management what may be embarrassing information. As the Secretary of Defense staff discovered in the '60s when it began to do business directly with the Air Force's principal outside consultants from the RAND Corporation, some of RAND's best sources within the Air Force began to dry up as soon as they discovered that their information might be used outside of the Air Force itself. By the same token, one of the best channels for information is the competition within the system: leadership in subunits which are involved in an internal struggle over the allocation of scarce resources by central management. The Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs knows more about the major problems with USIA, and vice versa, than the Secretary of State. Moreover, each one can be a useful source of information about the other, if only the proper discount is applied. Journalists too are useful sources of leads for internal inquiries, and top management can often learn more from an investigative reporter than the reporter can learn himself.

Yet central management's information-gathering activities are not only for its own benefit. Information about what goes on throughout the system can be extremely valuable—both as a standard

of performance and as a basis for reexamining policy positions—when it is properly digested and transmitted back to the various subunits. All coordination cannot be accomplished at the top. The several federal programs that support preventive health services (or special education, or court diversion) cannot function with even minimum effectiveness and efficiency unless each one takes account of the overlapping operations of the other programs.

IV

With all these instruments for central control (and despite their limitations as described above), it may appear that, at least outside the realm of higher education, large systems are swallowing up local initiative and appropriating all the decision-making power. In fact, however, there is no inconsistency between effective management through large systems, and decentralization of major responsibilities to the local level. Where every subunit is doing the same thing in the same way, central management is reduced to simple bookkeeping. It is no great trick to keep everyone marching in step to the same drum. It is only where local management has considerable latitude that central management requires sophisticated techniques.

In a setting of decentralized authority, central management can perform three major services for its subunits:

- It can remind them—gently if possible, forceably if necessary—that they are parts of a larger system, that their actions reverberate within that system (as well as outside it), and that they must take account of the actions of other elements in the system. Thus, the Army, Navy, and Air Force cannot each prepare to fight separate wars, and the various human services of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare cannot afford to treat clienteles as different sets of people. Nor can a municipal department ignore its relations with the neighborhoods within the city, or the metropolitan area of which the city is a part.
- It can hold them to standards of performance more objective than can be devised and applied within any subunit. Practice makes perfect, but too much practice may encourage a certain sloppiness. Central management can take a more detached look at what its subunits are doing. Yet it can do so in a less adversary fashion than, say, a Congressional committee or an investigative reporter.
- It can press them to be more responsive to their own

constituencies. A bureaucracy that does not serve its outside constituency is almost certainly out of hand. Moreover, because central management is not insulated from the constituency for the overall system, it is in the best position to make its subunits aware of their responsibilities to their specific constituencies.

This is why well-managed large systems are equally compatible with—and, indeed, conducive to—community control. The central management of such systems can insist, by precept and by example, that its subunits be as responsive to their constituencies (within the limits of freedom permitted by the system) as the system, as a whole, is responsive to its constituency. Only a well-managed system can define the area in which community control is appropriate. Only a well-integrated municipal government, for example, can really manage a system of little city halls. And therein may be found the most valuable lesson for systems of public higher education.

V

Discussion of this paper in a workshop on the future of multicampus educational systems brought out a number of points which were either not touched on in the paper itself, or not fully articulated. It is interesting to note that several of the points emerged from earlier discussion of state systems directly, and these were carried over by the paper's author to apply to other systems as well. The points can be summarized as follows:

(1) Large systems do more than permit a focus on larger objectives, beyond the scope of the component organizations. A primary reason for the creation of such organizations has also been to *change* focus, and to change it more rapidly than established bureaucracies would otherwise permit.

(2) In accomplishing their objectives through the budgetary instrument, systems managements are able to offer positive incentives as well as negative controls. Free funds, administered from the system central office to support innovative proposals from the working level, is an example of this kind of carrot.

(3) An additional difficulty in administering large systems is the tendency for planning to become so separated from decision-making that the planners are unable to make effective inputs into the decision-making process, and end up talking to themselves.

(4) Not only is decentralization quite compatible with large

systems, but it is also possible to trace a dialectic model here. The typical system began as a loose confederation of existing entities with a weak central executive; proceeded, as time passed (usually a good deal of time), to centralize authority; and then, from a strong central base, undertook ways of decentralizing not through the existing entities, but through new and more functional subdivisions—often on a geographical basis. A concomitant of functional decentralization has been the encouragement of direct communication between staffs, across hierarchical lines—often a sensitive issue during the transition period.

(5) Even as they reach maturity, large systems have difficulty establishing institutional loyalty, and an accepted, unifying image within the system itself. Within the Department of Defense, for example, the expression "Department of Defense," when used by service bureaucrats, refers only to the office of the Secretary of Defense. Similarly, in Massachusetts, when the old-line bureaucrats talk about the Executive Office of Human Services (of which the Office of Children and the Welfare Department and Public and Mental Health Departments and half a dozen other departments are integral elements), they are not talking about the whole thing. They are talking about the secretary, the under-secretary, and the few staff people at the top.

(6) In addition to their three major functions, large systems have a particularly critical role in an era when budgets are contracting and hard decisions must be made about priorities and allocations. Only strongly managed systems can avoid decisions which are based on mechanical formulas or on political log-rolling. In this connection, systems management is particularly necessary to the resolution of differences between "professional" judgments about the resource requirements of particular activities and "political" judgments about overall resource availability.

(7) Strong and independent systems management is especially important in higher education—an activity involving values which are not central to the concerns of most people and most politicians, at least on a day-to-day basis. One of the real problems with any institution which depends on public support is whether it is important enough, in the whole spectrum of values, to be treated on its merits by general government. What is so often the case is that an institution will be treated as a pawn in negotiations over who gets the post office in Squeedunk—or, on a higher level, who votes for the

jobs bill or the health care bill or whatever big-issue bill the administration is using to rally votes and the other side is using to save their skins. So, the institution of the independent authority or board is important, not because there is a greater tension between professional values and public values in higher education, but because higher education just does not represent that much money or that many resources, and does not occupy that large a sector of the circle of public awareness. It is likely to be pushed around, if there is not some device that can act as a buffer.

(8) Leadership in large systems is extraordinarily difficult. The heads of large systems tend to grind away more vigorously than their subordinates. They are primarily interested in change, while their subordinates are primarily concerned with accommodation. And, if you are more interested in change than accommodation, you are going to wear out your welcome in a number of areas that much faster. It is the subunit, the component unit heads in government, who maintain lasting and friendly relations with the legislative branch. In the subunits, there is not that abrasive interface which is necessarily characteristic of an effective, large-system leader.

China: The People's Higher Education System

Ernest L. Boyer

How does one sum up a visit to the People's Republic of China, with its kaleidoscopic succession of sights, sounds, and tastes; the intensively cultivated rice and wheat fields; the tree-lined streets uncluttered by billboards, neon signs, or litter; the swarming bicycles (in this land where no one owns a private car, these ubiquitous bicycles require police to direct traffic at rush hour); the standardized loose cotton trousers with a jacket or light shirt effectively blurring distinctions of rank and status? These surface features suggest a tightly organized society with a curious blend of simplicity, openness, and deep mystery.

We were struck by the friendliness and curiosity of the people. Everywhere we went small groups gathered—although we shared billing with our guest limousine. After one stop, we found six small boys sitting proudly in the car. As we approached, they waved, smiled, and scurried off. Students in classrooms stood and applauded as we entered and as we left, and there was spontaneous cordiality interspersed between these ritual greetings. (Imagine the letdown when I returned to my Albany office: not a single handclap.)

But in addition to these passing fascinations, my visit to China also stirred up deeper and often more disturbing questions about the society, its people and its institutions. These feelings, especially those relating to the purposes and procedures of higher education, have lingered on.

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I

The current American debate over higher education has taken on a special meaning since my China visit. Recently a report crossed my desk which revealed that many State University of New York students are turning away from traditional liberal arts majors in favor of more contemporary, job-related majors. During the past two years, for example, the number of SUNY students majoring in the environmental sciences has gone up by 27%, in the health professions by 39%, and in business and management by a whopping 75%.

Before going to China, I might have found this trend disturbing. Now, after seeing China's curious blend of work and study, I am not so sure. It is true that to the American observer the Chinese college campus looks more like a trade school than a higher learning institution. And the Chinese university's attempt to "combine theory and practice" (a ritualistic statement we heard everywhere) actually means that students and faculty often spend more time in factories and on farms than in libraries and laboratories. The People's Republic pendulum seems to have swung dramatically away from scholarship, and wherever we went there seemed to be much more "practice" than "theory."

But excesses notwithstanding, I returned from China with the conviction that we may have distortions of our own, and that the line between "vocationalism" and "liberal education" may be too sharply drawn. The fact is that more and more of our students want to prepare for a worthwhile life as well as worthwhile work, and the realistic goal of many of our students is to prepare for a job that makes *sense* as well as money. The challenge is to face the legitimacy of these twin goals and to combine educational functions we have isolated in the past. Why should "liberal education" exclude preparation for worthwhile work? Why do we devote so little thought to helping the student make wise vocational choices? After all, one's work does determine, in large measure, the quality of one's life.

The central realities of human existence, Freud said, are love and work. There is nothing ignoble in preparing a person for a productive place in his society. Indeed, this has been a primary function of American higher education since Harvard—our first vocational school—was founded in 1636 to prepare young men of New England for the ministry.

Tooling up for one's future occupation should not be the exclusive preoccupation of the college years, of course, nor should the

value of an academic degree be measured by the size of a paycheck. But making sure that people leave college both liberally educated and prepared to earn a living should be one of education's top priorities.

Several years ago a New York liberal arts college joined with a local two-year community college to design a combined liberal arts/vocational program. This program makes it possible for students to earn, in four years, both a traditional liberal arts baccalaureate and an associate of arts degree in a vocational field. As part of their cooperative effort, the two institutions also synchronized their General Education offerings to avoid duplication and to focus on broader social themes.

My purpose here is not to advocate a specific plan, but to make a more general point: it is time to end the subtle denigration of vocational choices in the world of higher education and to recognize such an essential urge for what it is—an essential part of our total mission. My visit to China helped crystallize my developing convictions on this matter.

II

Since that visit, I have also been thinking more critically about governance in higher learning, a subject which seems to be debated more frequently on the Chinese campus than here at home—incredible as that may seem. In America, the overall patterns of higher education governance are rather fixed. We have trustees, chancellors, vice chancellors, presidents, vice presidents, provosts, associate provosts, deans, assistant deans, department heads, and associate heads. We have faculty senates, students senates and, sometimes, faculty unions. These neatly interlocked levels of authority are expected to provide a sense of orderly procedures and coherence, at least on paper.

But despite this apparently tidy structure, Americans are losing faith in their social organizations. Our bureaucracies seem rigid, remote, and unresponsive, their functionaries isolated from each other. Recently, economist Kenneth Boulding accused us of "agoraphobia": the fear of open spaces. "We all tend to retreat into the cozy, closed spaces of limited agendas and responsibilities," he said, and to avoid the "open spaces of the mind." As we submerge ourselves in our bureaucratic identity, our activities become routine and

habitual, our communication becomes jargon-ridden and formulaic, and our institutions moribund. No wonder that, at this moment in our history when we more than ever need responsive institutions, our trust in organizations has sunk so low.

None of this, of course, is new. It has all been said before. And yet, my China visit revived this unpleasant issue because I was neither able to nail down the organizational structure of the Chinese university nor to clarify the procedures by which they carried on their work. (For one whose career depends upon a bureaucratic system, this was a little disquieting.) For example, at the four Chinese universities we visited we met no "presidents" or "deans." We were always being introduced to a "responsible person" or a "leading person" or a member of the coordinating committee. Indeed, committees seem to run the country, from cities to factories to communes to universities. As far as we could see, this elaborate committee network not only broadens participation but it also keeps power fluid by preventing authority from becoming firmly fixed.

To the average American college or university administrator, rule by committee may sound like some evil genius's idea of a solution, and I share some of these feelings. I happen to believe that when everything good has been said about committees that can be said, there still remains a crucial need for responsible, visionary leadership in any effective institution.

Nor could I forget that the present governance pattern in Chinese university life, for all its apparent coherence, was born in travail and still is driven by tension. The Cultural Revolution of 1968 was a profound trauma.

Even so, with all of its impenetrability and personal suffocation, the Chinese university may still have some organizational lessons to teach us—or, at least a look at the Chinese system may help us raise some basic questions which might benefit American institutions. For example, could our higher education bureaucracies (to mention only the area with which I am most familiar) become more responsive and less stiflingly complex? As administrators, is it possible for us to break free of the cocoon we have woven for ourselves out of the memoranda and computer printouts that endlessly rain down upon us?

In China, people who hold desk jobs go periodically to so-called "cadre schools" where they dirty their hands feeding pigs and working the fields. University administrators and teachers go into the factories or the countryside to help with the crops, and, not inci-

dentally, diligently study the teachings of Chairman Mao "to purify their minds."

But politics aside, it did occur to me, while visiting a cadre school, that administrators here at home also might move from their own pivot points of power from time to time, to meet the people and to participate in the work of the very enterprise they direct. Soon after coming back from China, I suggested to my staff that I would like to spend more time on SUNY campuses—sleeping in a dormitory, talking with students and teachers (rather than just "student representatives" and "faculty representatives"), comparing notes with the maintenance workers, riding with campus security officers on their night patrols.

The response to this proposal was revealing, and disturbing too. Some said my schedule allowed no time for such excursions. Others warned that the idea was too gimmicky and would be viewed as a P.R. stunt. One dismissed it with a categorical "Chancellors just don't do that sort of thing!" The more I heard, the more alarmed I became. Was I actually so cut off from those whose interests I represented? This seemed to be precisely the kind of organizational thinking that underlay the institutional atrophy.

Taking my life in my hands, I did arrange for a more extended stay on campus, and I talked with the people who actually keep our institutions going, those boxed into the middle and lower ranks of our administrative "flow charts." I not only survived this adventure, but returned to my desk with a new sense of what my job is all about.

I do not suggest that a single foray outside one's familiar little clearing in the bureaucratic jungle will change the organization. Such a move can only underscore a crisis, not resolve it. I do, however, wish to call attention to the persistent lack of confidence which seems both to weaken our organizations and to suggest that experiments with more openness, more communication, and less reliance on the pyramid of power may help revitalize our higher learning institutions.

III

Finally, since returning from China, I have thought about the connection between the university and the larger social purposes of our nation.

Above all else—and unfortunately this fact can only be expressed as a cliche—China leaves the visitor awed by its sense of common purpose. It is risky, perhaps even foolhardy, to generalize about a population of 800 million. Yet, everywhere in China, the people seemed to be pursuing common goals: adequate food supply, health care, education, and national defense. We saw no evidence of hunger in this poor country which feeds a quarter of the world's population from 7% of the world's cultivated land; minimal health care, at least, seems readily available; and the goal of universal education is being aggressively pursued.

China's institutions, including those of higher learning, are expected to help the nation achieve these common ends. Students repeatedly insisted they were preparing to serve the people. Upon completion of their work, they do not receive degrees. The degree does not matter, they told us; what is important is that they can now go home better able to help their fellow workers.

The dramatic contrast between the Chinese university and our own was candidly revealed near the end of our trip when I told our hosts that the motto of the State University of New York is: "Let each become all he is capable of being." This motto expresses a commitment to serve each *individual*, to help each student develop his or her maximum potential as each perceives it. In reply, I was told that the Chinese version of our motto might well be: "Let each student prepare himself wholeheartedly to serve the people."

Again there was a shadowy, disquieting side to all of this. Everywhere one felt the unobtrusive but powerful hand of social pressure—not fear, but peer pressure. All too often, students' answers to our questions sounded like memorized, patriotic recitations. And yet, the vitality of group commitment could not be ignored.

On the way to the airport from which we would leave China, we passed long lines of school children walking along the road. Our interpreter, a young professor, told us they were going to the fields to help bring in the wheat harvest. Then the professor said that he, too, would be going out to the fields that night to work the midnight shift.

Obviously, the Chinese task of coordinating national effort is easier than our own. We have a far more diverse and open culture, and we rightly reject regimentation and an "imposed" discipline. Still, it seems ironic, almost tragic, that in the 200th year of our national life, our sense of common purpose seems to have reached

an all-time low. Since coming home, I have been thinking about ways to continue celebrating the individual while also facing up to some challenges we confront *together* as a people.

For a start, I have a modest suggestion. The Bicentennial year is a good time for the nation's colleges and universities to organize a network of campus "town meetings" to bring together Americans of all walks of life to talk about our future. While it would be too much to expect that a new sense of national purpose could emerge from such conclaves alone, I do believe they might help highlight the crucial choices we must now make and help restore our sadly frayed social fabric.

But the new educational agenda I propose must transcend narrow national boundaries. Poverty now stalks the earth. More than 800 million people live from hand to mouth, and the human race continues to expand at the rate of 200,000 people *daily*. By the year 2000, it is almost certain the earth's population will increase from 4 billion to 6½ billion. And even though we are beginning to understand what Francis Bacon meant when he observed that "we can command nature only by obeying her," we continue to poison the biosphere.

The simple fact is that the concerns of America and China and Great Britain and Ghana and Bangladesh increasingly intersect. Where will we get the food to feed the human race, and how can we distribute it to those who need it? Where are the energy resources to be found, and how can they be equitably shared? How can we learn to limit our massive energy consumption, and to control the poisons we dump everywhere? Can we achieve a balance between population and the life support system of this small planet? Neither American nor Chinese higher education has begun to come to terms with *this* agenda.

It seems to me that the world community of scholars has a very special task in these troubling times. Although we are truly worlds apart, I urgently hope American and Chinese educators—despite their differences in goals, philosophy, and national interests—will find ways to keep talking to each other and learning from each other.

PART TWO: Purposes of Education

Liberal Learning and Vocational Training

Loren Baritz

Part of the received wisdom about higher education asserts that there are three quite different varieties of the educational experience: liberal study, vocational training, and professional education. Perhaps because of the declining job market, or some loss of confidence in higher education, or an internal loss of focus especially within the humanities, the liberal arts and sciences are now almost everywhere on the defensive. This is often blamed on the "new vocationalism" of current students, or on the short-sightedness of funding agencies. But there are deeper cultural and institutional grounds for the widespread contemporary celebration of "practical" vocational or professional education at the expense of the liberal arts and sciences.

An important but finally meaningless debate underlies all of this. The implicit question under discussion usually is: What's the use of theory? Benjamin Franklin had an answer: What's the good of a baby? But high culture in the Western tradition tells us that theory is better than application. It is better partly *because* it is inapplicable. Inapplicability is supposedly good because it symbolizes freedom from dirty work. Mind is therefore better than body. However, such radical compartmentalization of the human person will lead, and has led, to crippling distortions of our collective possibilities. Mao understood the necessary synthesis between these false polarities when he wrote of "intellectual workers."

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This is not merely a definitional minuet. It cuts deep into American—industrialized—cultural values. Elite culture says that work is less good than leisure, while the imperatives of a consuming society support this cultural myopia. In the wisdom of his old age, Freud said that what finally matters is love and work. And Studs Terkel showed that many Americans who work hate what they do, conceive of work as violence, and believe that work is meaningless.

When work is done for extrinsic rewards alone, it probably is meaningless. Freud meant work as sublimation, creative displacement, and accomplishment: *to be accomplished*. In this connection, he neglected to speak of money.

Something went wrong. Industrial work, pecuniarily motivated, is what happened. Working only for money is radically different from making a shoe because one enjoys using leather. But making such a shoe is devalued because, in a consuming society, pleasure is to be purchased, not lived. McLuhan was wrong: the medium is money. Industrial society will not be deflected in its work demands because some people now have become nostalgic about pre-industrial craft labor.

In short, the distinction between liberal and vocational education is false. This is so because when liberal education, such as the one that I had, aims at replicating the professoriate, it is explicitly vocational. When liberal education has other goals, it is ideologically loaded in our world.

The distinction between professional and vocational education is also false. It is based on an invidious hierarchy of value. A profession, universities say, is what universities call a profession. Society knows better: it speaks of a professional football player, musician, or soldier. If it is a career (vocation) and if it pays, it is a profession. "Are you a professional writer?" "No, I haven't sold anything yet."

But there is a genuine problem. We do not understand vocational education. I take the case of a plumber, thereby running against the grain of industrial and American value systems. There are now two problems: is vocational education training in plumbing, or is it the education of the person who is to be, or who is, a plumber? And what does a plumber, however defined, need to know? I do not think we know the answer to that question. We should ask plumbers what they need to know. But the person who is a plumber might need to know some physics, some chemistry, and some engineering. A plumber might need to know the history of his union, of his ethnic group, collective bargaining and arbitration. Maybe he needs

business administration for plumbers. Maybe he needs to know something of Herman Melville's excursus into the mysteries of water. A strengthening of his analytic capacities might help (it would help my plumber enormously). I know one plumber who tells me that he needs to know how to improve his poetry before he will sign the publishing contract he has been offered.

The problem, as I see it, is that we products of liberal education do not know enough about vocational education, and so, coupled with the imperatives of cultural value, it is first to be ghettoized, made different, and then demeaned.

This has everything to do with the ideology implicit in the celebration of high culture. The value of a product (elite culture) is partly a consequence of its scarcity. Scarcity, in the absence of high popular demand, is determined by the difficulty of getting the goods. This partly explains the attitude of some academics, especially in the humanities, toward both elite and popular culture. The mystification of culture means, among other things, that academics possess an arcane product. The greater the success at mystifying and rarifying culture, the greater is the self-defined cultural value of what is possessed. This is a monopolistic as well as a custodial impulse.

One significant fact of oppression is that the victims may, for a time, accept the self-defined superiority of the masters. Some prisoners in concentration camps deified their guards as having the power of life and death over them. Some blacks believe, or believed, in the presumed superiority of whites. *Cultural* oppression, when it is truly oppressive, means that some of those beyond the pale of elite culture believe in the intrinsic superiority of the guardians of elite culture—precisely when such guardians have defined culture partly in order to exclude those who are victimized by this guardianship. It is within this context that I understand Philip Rieff's reference to the academic humanist as the cultural policeman.

Insofar as the victims of elite culture's oppression accept the alleged superiority of what they do not have, the cultural guardians can rely on the support of their victims. Coupled with the cultural monopoly that results from mystification of culture, this all means that academics (not only in the humanities) are allowed and encouraged to teach and publish their specialized knowledge to students who may neither want nor need it, but who, as a mark of their defeat, may respect what they hate, honor what has bent them, and pay for what they cannot use and do not need.

Teaching within the context of the mystification of culture

means that an academy is what the people who work there do. People who work there like to say they do four things: (1) civilize or liberalize or humanize students—create the educated *man*; (2) transmit knowledge; (3) advance knowledge; (4) celebrate knowledge for its own sake.

Think of these categories within the context of the world problems and conflicts of today. It may be that the degree to which students are civilized, liberalized, or humanized (or are transmogrified into the "educated man") may be the degree to which these students accept the values and learn the language of the social class which exercises cultural tyranny over them. The degree to which students learn to celebrate knowledge for its own sake is the degree to which they accept the superiority of the cultural cops, and the degree to which they learn to celebrate memory rather than Eros, mind rather than life, and the satisfactions which, following Ralph Waldo Emerson, come from becoming a "transparant eyeball" rather than, following Herman Melville, a living person capable of having a toothache. This is additionally premised on the celebration of uselessness as a badge of economic superiority—in Thorstein Veblen's terms, as conspicuous consumption. It is analogous, as he put it, to tending a lawn or owning a dog as significations that one is able to do useless labor, and is above getting dirty in work (wearing white collars to prove you can eat without slobbering or wearing tight corsets and high heels to prove that you do not or cannot do any work).

If education means discipline, and if you will recall that discipline implies punishment either by physical affliction, postponement, or even orderliness, then it seems to follow that academic disciplinarians may not only be culturally conservative but they may also be antagonistic to youth. Then their job is to socialize students, to operate on the premise that if the shoe pinches you change the foot. And so the educational enterprise sometimes amounts to a cultural pacification program: converting the peasants (students) to civilized ways of thinking and behaving, persuading them that our culture is superior to theirs, convincing them that our domination will really be their liberation.

I think all of this is fine, the way it should be. Eros prefers barrooms and bedrooms to classrooms. Eros cannot be made to understand routines. He has no patience with schedules, ringing bells, the accumulation of credit, mid-term exams, or standing in line. I argue against the desire to eroticize education, not because

want to protect education but to protect Eros. Never mind. He takes care of himself, and he will not listen to an analysis of his behavior.

The muses are as stubborn as Eros. A good recipe for revitalizing the humanities is to find a muse and award her with love, honor, and obedience. She also seems to be allergic to academies, preferring solitude and reverence. A developed industrial culture seems not to know what to do with or about these muses, and so it builds mausoleums to the death of muses and calls them museums.

Think of science, normal science. Thousands of scientists chip away at a problem and slowly, with mass effort, a solution may emerge. So it is with much research in the social sciences. Vitality in such cases may be characteristic of science, but perhaps not of scientists. Industriousness replaces creativity. One small reason for the special problem of the humanities is that, for them, energy and money will not work as well as in some of the social sciences and sciences. Industriousness might result in good things in the humanities (like tenure and a publication record), but probably not in better poetry. But since academies value discipline (i.e., orderliness) and what they do not hesitate to call "productivity" (i.e., industriousness), it seems to follow that academic humanists are both sloppy and lazy. They are stuck at the bottom of the pecking order *because* at least some of them think of themselves as creative in ways that are not externally persuasive, are not palpable, do not "pay off."

Somehow there is a way to think about work and education within the cultural and industrial context that will allow us to get on with the job of providing increasingly effective education to the millions of people who invest their money, time, and hope in our institutions. At least I hope that we can agree that the problems are so powerful that easy solutions will not work. Making joint interdisciplinary faculty appointments is a good idea on its own merits, but it cannot even address the problem of our cultural deprecation of work. Irony or dialectical reasoning will not work because both attitudes lead to stability: double vision, even if it is often essential to personal sanity or survival, is sometimes a way to continue as we have been. The ironic attitude may be a good way to avoid choices. Paying more attention to popular culture will not work because it can be fetishized as easily as anything else. We cannot legislate excellence or even interest. After some psychologists conduct a content analysis of the Marx Brothers, the only thing destroyed will be

the meaning and music and magic of life. This helps to explain why students sometimes have the same expression on their faces as people in an airport in a snow storm, at midnight, with all flights cancelled.

What might work is the establishment of programs, or perhaps even colleges, but not ghettos, in which there is a turning away from, turning out, both the disciplines and the innovative liberal arts programs designed to help students to become self-actualized, whatever that means. Then we could conceivably imagine how to redefine at least part of the academy as a place where people could learn useful work, where requirements would be functional to what people need, and where an understanding of work in its fullest social setting might be pursued. Of course this will not be fun or loving. It would merely help people do what they need. It would also compel academics to rethink what they are doing. Also not fun.

Finally the question boils down to this: Do the liberal arts and sciences have anything to contribute to the world of work? I trust that the answer is a resounding affirmation. Will such a contribution destroy or dilute liberal learning? I do not think so. We can and must reorganize liberal study so that it addresses work, not only leisure, because it is my view that work remains absolutely central in our daily lives. Poetry, philosophy, and history, as examples, can be taught to people who neither aspire to becoming part of the professoriate, nor to receiving a little polishing so they may "better" use their leisure hours. These subjects are too important to become mere adornments to life in Retirement Village. In short, we need a new curriculum that will more frontally address the problems students have in our world, but a curriculum which will not destroy the meaning of liberal learning. And I submit that one first useful step on what will obviously be a long and difficult path is overcoming the false and invidious distinctions between liberal learning, vocational training, and professional education.

We must think seriously about whether we really mean to continue the tradition that asserts that uselessness is preferable to usefulness. We must reconsider the social meaning of celebrating the so-called professions at the expense of other forms of employment. And so, at last, what we must work on together is the question of what education is for. And who should be educated? If we wish to "turn out" cultured hobbyists, theologians, and a replication of a professoriate whose social model is nineteenth-century Berlin, we do not need to change much of what we are now doing. Otherwise, how-

ever, our task is urgent, and deserves a national debate on how our institutions can better provide the services which people need and have a right to expect.

* * *

I have a son who is going to enter college in a few months. (I have another son who dropped out of college one month before his graduation.) I do not know what kind of vocation or career my younger son will eventually have. But I would like to tell you what I hope he will get by going to college. Unfortunately, I am afraid I have to say that I think he is not going to get it.

The first thing I hope for my younger son is that he will develop the ability to compare himself with others. I hope he will do this in a variety of ways. I hope that he will learn to compare himself to others in terms of time, with earlier cultures and systems of social justice. I hope he will learn to compare himself to others in spatial terms, with peoples and cultures who are presently living in other parts of the world. I hope he will develop the ability to evaluate who and what he is in the context of this globe. I hope that he will learn not merely to tolerate but to respect and to celebrate human differences. I think this probably is the most difficult, but I hope that he will learn how to imagine alternatives to his present.

Secondly, I hope he will develop the ability to uncover, to reveal what is hidden, what is implicit. That is to say, I hope he will learn how to explicate and then evaluate what he has uncovered. What needs to be uncovered are assumptions such as "There will be a tomorrow," or prejudices such as "Life is cheap in Southeast Asia," or ideology such as what is contained in the phrase "the free world."

I hope he will strengthen his ability to make and understand relationships between people, between people and nature, between people and work, between people and institutions, and between the present, the past and the future.

I hope he will develop his ability to distinguish between what is good and what is better, to be able to make intellectual and moral judgments based on a firm sense of value.

I hope he will learn to refine two of his senses. (I hope he will work on the others, but I hope he does that outside of college.) I

hope he will learn, or relearn, how to see by seeing how others have seen. I hope that he will learn or relearn from painters and filmmakers how to see. I hope he will learn or relearn how to hear by listening to those who have heard different songs. I hope he will strengthen his ability to make something with his hands: a painting, music, a ceramic thing or a wooden thing, or something.

I am not going to discuss my next two hopes. I will simply state them. Yet they are the most important:

I hope he will develop his ability to listen.

I hope he will learn, by serendipity or example or however else, to strengthen his ability to translate thought into action.

All of these are my private wishes. They seem to have nothing to do with institutions or great social movements or demography or public finance or public policy. They only have to do with that one kid. And yet what we decide about institutional or public policies will clearly define the setting in which my younger son tries for his education. And so my final hope is that these large decisions will not, at least, prevent him from making an attempt, or frustrate a genuine desire to learn, or offer him less than the best our institutions are capable of delivering. Finally, however, it is all up to him.

Oases of Fundamental Inquiry

Elizabeth McCormack

When I was asked to speak to a group of leaders of American systems of higher education on "Emerging Life Patterns," I decided to send them all a copy of Garrett Hardin's article, "The Tragedy of the Commons," which appeared in *Science* on December 13, 1968. Hardin's article examines the monstrously difficult and urgent population problem; he suggests that it has no technical solution, and that addressing it effectively requires a fundamental extension in morality. The particular extension he proposes is "relinquishing the freedom to breed" in favor of preserving and nurturing other and more precious freedoms—like life itself.

I also asked the Chancellors to consider five questions:

1. What educational effect would occur if 80% of the central bureaucracy of state systems were eliminated? How would this elimination make it more difficult for institutions in the system to change in order to meet the needs of students with new "life patterns"?

2. What are the causes of the current "malaise" affecting so many people? Are these causes solely or primarily economic?

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3. What is the message of "The Tragedy of the Commons" for the leadership of state higher educational systems?

4. How do you see the present academic disciplines responding to the problems raised by Hardin?

5. How can post-secondary education influence human values or ideas of morality?

These questions were put to them not to serve as a framework for analyzing Hardin's paper, but rather for two other, broader reasons. The first reason was to draw attention to the *large* number of potentially catastrophic problems which are, at this moment in history, beyond technical solution. The second reason—and this is really my point—is that it is impossible to talk about the future of the globe, of life patterns, or of higher education's response to them, without first considering the more fundamental question of values.

It is my conviction that no one can properly dare to postulate the life patterns of 1980. I refer to the life patterns of the '50s, the '60s, and the '70s. Who in the '50s noted "emerging" life-styles which prompted him to project the behavior of the '60s? Who in 1969 saw the symptoms of the inner-directed and materialistic attitudes of 1972?

If the emerging patterns from the '50s to the '70s, decade by decade, were obscure (if visible at all), future trends are now even more opaque. Consider the forces, all on the scale of the problems raised by Hardin's Commons, which will be casting the molds of individual and structural behavior in 1980 and beyond:

1. The Economy — Diminishing resources/
   No or slow growth.

2. Ever more mammoth business structures, both domestic and supra-national.

3. Eco-spheric imperatives, many of which appear to threaten the continuation of long-established and fundamental societal structures.

4. Scientific and technological developments occurring at breakneck speed—some benign, some mindless, some frightening.

5. A possible total alteration in governmental institutions.

6. Population explosion.

7. Food shortages and surpluses.

8. The Sea—its use and abuse.

9. Energy scarcity.

10. Emerging Third World and consequent shifts of power.

11. End of *pax Americana*.

12. War and peace (genuine peace).

13. The diminution of the dignity of the individual.

I have listed a baker's dozen, and we could add more—but why bother? Each of the above is world-wide in scope, and each alone is capable of generating significant shifts in life-styles. Taken together, their influence boggles the mind, especially when one considers that we know virtually nothing about any of them in terms of controlling them in the interest of a humane society. They are volatile and unpredictable. What we do know about them is that they will create the *perceived* needs to which the University will have to respond. The clientele in the Learning Society must be served; what they *perceive* as their needs will be met.

Such a prospect is indeed grim. Oddly enough, I remain an optimist—but on a conditional basis.

The response of the State University will fall into three broad areas: first, the vocationally and career and professionally oriented schools and programs, offered in a variety of modes and settings; second, the "traditional" schools of the liberal arts and humanities

at the graduate and undergraduate levels, likewise offered in a variety of modes and settings; third, a new area which I will refer to as "Oases of Fundamental Inquiry." All three present formidable problems. The first two sound "old hat," and there is a note of romanticism in the third. In reality, the two "old hats" are two old failures, and the third is not romantic—it is dying while still in gestation.

Education is an extension of society, and, therefore, not only is it supported by society but is expected to perpetuate societal norms. Educators are themselves an important segment of society. It would follow that if mankind is drifting in a chartless sea, so are educators. If we are to deal with the baker's dozen problems, we are going to have to add something radically different to that which we are doing, and to what I suspect we will be doing in 1980. It is this add-on which is my concern here.

I am concerned with fundamental assumptions. By definition, we do not question them. Our entire body of knowledge has grown upon the surface of these assumptions, and our intellects operate within their confines. We constantly alter the configurations of our structures which rest upon them. For example, we endlessly study money and banking—we assume there should be money and banks. We study the causes of war—on the assumption that a war can be caused. We exhort people to obey the word of God on the basis of two assumptions—first, that they should, and, second, that they know how to, but don't. We seek ways to alleviate poverty—assuming that the poor will always be with us.

My ultimate aim is to learn the definition of a humane world—and then attain it. Yet I know of nothing that man presently knows which gives evidence of any prospect of reaching such a goal. If such a goal ever was the goal of our colleges of the liberal arts and humanities, then these colleges have failed. We have our world today, and its recorded history, to support that statement. As Hardin asks, What is good? For one man, it is a wilderness; for another, down with the trees and up with a factory. These two may both be good, or neither may be good—but we have to know. And we don't. In short, it is my position that we have made little or no progress in the direction of a humane society, and that, given the baker's dozen, we continue to describe circles (computerized or not) on the surface of our assumptions at our peril.

I therefore turn to the third response of the State University: There must be a response to *real* needs, and this involves profound

immersion in the validity of fundamental assumptions. Each state university should establish an oasis—a small group of teacher-scholars and students who will engage themselves at first in a search for questions, not answers. These will be questions seldom if ever postulated, either because they have remained undiscovered, or because they were too frightening to ask. These Oases of Fundamental Inquiry will not be Think Tanks composed of scholars alone; scholars cannot be trusted alone. There must also be students who will contribute, interact, stimulate, and challenge.

I have a strong suspicion that inevitable components of these inquiries, in great depth, will be ethics and values. The academic establishment has eschewed these two areas as beyond its responsibility and competence. Here may lie the root of the problem—like trying to bake bread without flour.

Alternatives in Traditional Learning

David Halliburton

Q. Who are Petunia, Co-Co, and Bippo?
A. A grandmother, daughter, and granddaughter who recently completed, at a large state university, their training in "clownology."

Q. What did a large private university recently do to improve the performance of teachers?
A. Hired a gag-writer from "The Johnny Carson Show" and NBC-TV, to compose jokes for use by lecturers.

My aim, in exhibiting these curiosities, is not to suggest that the world of modern American postsecondary education is falling apart. Curiosities abound in earlier periods as well. Consider the strategy of the Roman imperial pedagogue, Herod Atticus. Confronted with a son who could not learn the alphabet, Herod selected 24 slaves, each named for a letter, and had them brought up with the boy—an early experiment in experiential learning. If Lewis Carroll is to be believed, even well-educated Victorians wrestled in vain with language:

> It used once to be thought indispensable for an educated man that he should be able to write his own language correctly, if not elegantly; it seems doubtful how much longer this will be taken as a criterion. Not so many years ago I

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> had the honour of assisting in correcting for the press some pages of the *Anthropological Review*, or some such periodical. I doubt not that the writers were eminent men in their own line . . . but they were not able to set forth these thoughts in anything resembling the language of educated society. In all my experience, I have never read . . . such slipshod, such deplorable English.

Today the Herod Atticus, Jr. phenomenon, if you will, has become disturbingly widespread. More students than ever before are currently enrolled at the University of California in Subject A (read: Remedial English), where they may pray to be absolved of linguistic sin. Similarly, students in college journalism courses are working overtime on basic language skills, having flunked standard qualifying exams that high school graduates should have been able to pass. There is nothing trivial about the difference between words, as many of our learners use them, and words as they can be used. It is the difference between a pile of rocks and the Great Wall of China. One ought further to recognize, in George Orwell's words, "that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end."

It also appears that students do not always remember well and have trouble putting together the things they do recall—a state of affairs for which teachers must share responsibility. Our cultural traditions are too often passed on as a *melange* of fragments, isolated quotations, phrases learned by rote: another pile of rocks. (If television is not mainly to blame, neither is it blameless, for surely the problem is made worse by the dependence of this medium upon interruption and atomistic units. The structure of many a long-run series presupposes that the viewer cannot even remember the basic premise, which accordingly is repeated at the beginning of every show.)

It is not perhaps coincidental that the works of Beckett, so popular in our curricula, are occupied by persons who have lost touch not only with their past, but also with their present. At the opening of *Waiting for Godot* one character says, "So there you are," to which the other replies, "Am I?" The social formula is turned inside out. The character questions not merely *where* he is but *whether* he is. "Am I?" means "Do I exist?" The question is a little crisis, and may point us forward on our way. For the crisis in the

liberal arts, too, is existential (which is not in the least to deny that it is financial as well). When I recently suggested this to a state university dean, who also happens to be a scientist, he agreed. He went on to say that humanists have an advantage now because economic pressures squeeze them harder and make them more aware of this dimension of the problem. I am reminded of *Notes Toward the Definition of Culture*, where T. S. Eliot writes:

> It is possible that the desire for education is greater where there are difficulties in the way of obtaining it—difficulties not insuperable but only to be surmounted at the cost of some sacrifice and privation.

If this is an advantage, it is one I would rather not have. But it may help if I explain why, in this paper, I am mainly working the "humanities" side of the street.

The Current Crisis and General Education

We are in a crisis, then. Everyone agrees. But what kind? "All transitions," says Goethe, "are a crisis, and isn't a crisis a sickness?" Crisis derives from the Greek word, "to decide," and St. John speaks of crisis as judgment and separation—choosing for this and against that. Perspectives like these can help, paradoxically, by making our situation worse. For insofar as we re-think tradition and develop an interplay between past and present, we risk realizing the extent to which we have cut ourselves off from the full possibilities of our own personal and cultural experience. Veterans of World War I returned in such a state of confusion, reported Walter Benjamin, that they could scarcely think or feel. They had lost, he said, their ability to experience; and we, he implied, are doing the same.

In the 19th century, this dilemma was lived by John Stuart Mill—precocious even in this. After being brought up as a thinking machine, young Mill fell into a paralysis, unable to think, unable to feel. The boy was under a sort of spell. Facts, facts, facts, said his father. Facts, facts, facts, said the Victorian educational system, through Mr. Gradgrind. The spell is positivism, the workshop of a special type of cognition suited to channelling person-power into the industrial machine.

Today, beneath the "mod" educational haircut, beats the identical Victorian brain. Only we now have more sophisticated sorcerers. Norbert Wiener, while defending the pursuit of automation, warned against the "gadget worshipper":

> This type of mastermind is the mind of the sorcerer in the full sense of the word. To this sort of sorcerer, not only the doctrines of the Church give a warning but *the accumulated common sense of humanity, as accumulated in legends, in myths, and in the writings of the conscious literary man.*

Those italicized words are Wiener's description of liberal—or as I would prefer to say, general—education.

"Still there can surely be no question," says Aristotle, "that anybody who wants to be fully qualified in the art and science of a subject like education must proceed to study of general or universal principles and familiarize himself with these. . . ." Max Weber found that every struggle over the foundations of the educational system concealed the opposition between the "specialist type of man." It is for the latter that I argue (while wishing that Weber had had the prescience to speak of persons rather than man). And it is to this type of individual that the Aspen Institute, in its sessions on "The Educated Person," recently devoted so much effort. It is also this type of person that C. Wright Mills wanted to send forth from his college for adults:

> To train someone to operate a lathe or to read and write is pretty much an education of skill; to evoke from someone an understanding of what they really want out of their life or to debate with them stoic, Christian and humanist values, is pretty much a clear-cut education of values. But to assist in the birth among a group of people of those cultural and social and political and technical sensibilities which would make them genuine members of a genuinely liberal public—this is at once a training in skills and an education of values.

C. Wright Mills was correct in the conclusion he drew about this birth of sensibilities. But in light of his premises, it is odd that he failed to see that the other activities he described are equally value-

laden. To train a person in any skill—whether it be the operation of a machine or the capacity to read and write—is to carry out a commitment based upon assumptions of what one ought to do, and such assumptions are precisely founded in values—*they are values in action*. We reach the same conclusion when we begin from the other end. The "clear-cut education of values," attained by debating stoic, Christian and humanist points of view, means developing skills in the learner—the capacity to analyze, the capacity to draw comparisons and contrasts, and the capacity to debate. *All training in skills*, in short, is an *education in values*.

The Present State of the Education System

What is the state of the education system which more and more forgets this person, even as a type? It is, we are told, "steady." But the "steady state" is a false analogy from organismic biology, where it means something quite specific and quite different. The equilibrium employed as a model in "steady state" thinking is homeostatic, Cartesian, mechanical. It works for cybernetic systems, for thermometers, for self-guided missles. But its usefulness beyond this sphere is doubtful. As Lee Thayer, a general systems theorist who is also a communications expert, points out, it is not even very helpful for communications systems, which are socially and existentially situated in significantly complex ways.

When applied to higher education, or to the educational system as a whole, this kind of thinking is perfectly disastrous. The mystique of "cost-effectiveness" combines at last with the jargon of "systems" and the sorcery of "futurology" to turn our attention *away* from this system. As a consequence perhaps, the one powerful hypothesis one can currently make about the system of higher education is that it is self-identical: it has its own nature, and not one merely transposed from something else (whether organic or cybernetic). Since we do not know this nature, our discourse cannot be "system-specific," but must continue to cannibalize other genres of discourse.

All of this, of course, presupposes that a systems approach is, in fact, adequate—which I happen to doubt. For the crucial procedure—logically prior to any systems approach—is to define the nature of education. Since this is not the place to initiate that procedure, I put myself in the position of the Renaissance art historian who in-

variably omitted the Renaissance from his survey because it was so big that including it would mean leaving out everything else.

What I want to emphasize now is that an adequate awareness of the whole system has its corollary in the lack of an awareness of the whole person. We talk about teaching "skill" without remembering that a skill is always learned by some *person*. We separate skill from value in a dualism as bankrupt as that of form and content, of affectivity and cognition. And we forget that the student is a dynamic entity vastly more complicated than any machine.

What Do Students Want and Need?

More and more we hear that students want training in skills. But is it so clear what students want? The recent research by Yankelovich pulls in two directions, one toward vocationalism, one toward concern with quality of life; and although the pull is somewhat stronger toward the former, it is sufficiently strong toward that latter to make the situation look pretty divided. It is just possible that the students want a balance between the one and the other, a balance of general and specialized education. Students adjust their expectations to trends of which they are immediately or virtually aware. Institutions adjust to those expectations—curricula are "updated," new staff are laid on, or off. Meanwhile, history keeps moving, new events undermine old assumptions, and the institution turns out learners who feel that they did not get what they wanted. Faculty members and administrators make similar adjustments, similarly lacking guarantees. But is it reactionary to suggest that experience counts for something and that there is a perspectival advantage for those who, besides living through their own student generation, have lived through others? And if this is accepted, then isn't it even more likely that all the constituent members of the institution, together, could arrive at policies which will achieve an equilibrium truly dynamic?

In determining these policies, we will want to take a hard look at trends toward vocationalism. We are faced, as ever, by time-lag. Journalism is "in" because of Watergate; veterinary science is "in" because of a putative shortage of vets; also "in" are earth-sciences

specialists who can currently market their certificates at a premium. But is it not fair to ask whether these tyro professionals will not increasingly feel the employment squeeze? In many other fields the dislocation is already evident. The gap between educational policy and the ability of our economic system to provide gratifying work is creating, as James O'Toole points out, a "reserve army of the underemployed," to go along with the standing army of the unemployed. Although the problem must be attacked on the policy level, it needs to be addressed in this and that particular classroom and curriculum —and soon. Waiting for the policymakers is too much like waiting for Godot. Moreover, the general disjuncture between the tempo of policy-making and the tempo of educational practice is at least as great as the particular disjuncture between the tempo of educational job preparation and the actual job market.

There is a certain narrow advantage in the latter disjuncture, insofar as college gives the jobless "something to do." Gradually there emerges a new group of students who, having earned unmarketable certificates, return for more education. These are, in effect, carry-over undergraduates, haunted by their failure on the "outside" and resentful toward the system. This resentment is felt by the whole person. For the system has allowed, even encouraged, this potentially complete being to be educationally incomplete. A general education exposes the student to a cultural plenitude, to the recognition and development of individual and collective capacities to feel, analyze, evaluate. An education that fails to be sufficiently general is a deprivation. The student comes to live in a state of personal and cultural scarcity which reaches a crisis point when he or she confronts its dreadful twin: economic scarcity. Students get the worst of it every way. Learning on the job market that they are extra, they return for extra training to the place that allowed them to become extra.

I am not suggesting that these disjunctures can be overcome by higher education. I merely suggest, more modestly, that a redress of the balance between general and special education is desirable and necessary. For it gives the student a flexibility and a depth that finally does more real human good than this narrower education to which we have been drifting. Students need exposure, a variety of experiences, an opportunity for personal development, a chance to learn their own culture, and the capacity of perspective. In a time of diminishing resources, the person needs to be resourceful. The

corollary is a need to be resistant. The aim of liberal education, says C. Wright Mills, is "*to keep us from being overwhelmed*. . . . Its first and continuing task is to develop the bold and sensible individual who cannot be overwhelmed by the burdens of modern life."

The Teaching and Learning Situation

Here I can only touch upon a few steps that might be taken to improve our present teaching-and-learning situation. In teaching and curricular reform, some bold efforts should be made to encourage activities among at least three peer groups: undergraduates, graduates, and faculty. These three groups could jointly work out, for example, a first-year course series confronting the issue of preprofessional training head-on. Instead of slipping into a groove of locked-in requirements, the incoming student might meet in the classroom (or in the dorm) with someone established in the appropriate field (a doctor, lawyer, research scientist). The student would have timely contact with models who could present the full dimension of their experiences—not a person who could instruct the student in subject matter, but one who could simply talk about what it is like to be a doctor, a lawyer, a scientist. The second and third courses in this "coordinated planning and performance" series (if I may so call it) could take up some of the same issues from different perspectives. Other faculty members, teaching assistants, and advanced undergraduates might engage the issue of work, of sex roles, of historical change. There would be a common effort to bring into the open the value assumptions behind the students' ideas, including the students' ideas of themselves *as students*. The curse of our curriculum today is that it sets too high a value on "having," of which "doing" is the morally neutral instrument; the students do what they must to get what they think they want—usually status and money. The series of courses just described shifts the center of educational gravity. The center becomes "doing" and "being." The aim of the series is, in part, to help the student become reflexively conscious. This is what Gregory Bateson calls "deutero-learning," or learning how to learn. The student is asked to grapple with the question put by Gauguin's painting: "Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?"

Such an approach does not contradict, but complements current developments. It is in harmony with the idea that students ought to be allowed to find their own way as much as possible. This applies not to pace, which has been so emphasized of late, but to the *way* the student learns. "We may take it, too," says Aristotle, "that a professor of boxing does not make all his pupils adopt the same style." Current research into "cognitive styles" is in this spirit. Such an approach also has something in common with an activity which at first sight seems far removed. I mean videotaping which, if properly used, helps an individual become self-reflexive, making explicit what was previously implicit. Finally, such an approach is in harmony with recent emphases on the "when" of learning. From preoccupation with the child, we move toward concern for the whole person. This is more than a revival of the ancient Greek focus on the formation of adult character, though it is not irrelevant to that focus. In fact, it is a concern for the individual as a dynamic being unfolding in time. We have had "whole-life" insurance; we are beginning to think seriously about "whole-life" education. There is the start, at least, of a shift away from a concept of early privileged periods toward the recognition that every period of life is privileged, each in its way.

Institutional Interplay

A further step that can be taken derives from the multiplicity of the teaching-and-learning function between teachers and learners. We need a diversification of roles, an interplay.

The teacher as learner. This is the area charted tentatively by "faculty development" in its various guises. This role, in my opinion, should be the responsibility of the faculty itself. If a state system requires that this be monitored or facilitated by a center, then that center must first pass the test of credibility. To this end, it is best put into the hands of a faculty member known for teaching and leadership ability, at least where the "academy" (Lipset) is concerned. This is not to say that such an operation cannot be run by someone who has no discipline or field other than running such an operation; it is to say that such an approach makes the job more difficult. Moreover, in a multi-campus system, all things being equal, each campus should have its own center. System-wide control

only makes the operation more threatening, and nothing jeopardizes faculty development like the sense of threat. Such supervision as may be required should be furnished by the appropriate system-wide faculty body (such as the academic senate).

The learner as teacher. Here the concern is to give more students the opportunity to experience the "other" side of the teaching-learning reciprocity. Each student resembles young Wilhelm Meister: "he felt the necessity of learning, being called upon to teach." This can be accomplished, to a degree, by a course design, as described above. And the chance to teach figures naturally in many graduate programs. The problem is that, typically, there is no general policy concerning the specific function of teaching. TA's are supposed to acquire teaching competence by the same osmosis that their mentors presumably relied upon. State institutions of higher education need, minimally, to require that departments or schools provide pedagogical guidance to their teaching assistants. This can be rewarded by a combination of means: by course credit (for a pedagogical seminar), by a certificate of completion, or by a letter of evaluation included as part of the dossier.

Administrators as learners. The reciprocity of teaching and learning extends beyond both the faculty member and the student to the administrator, but at the moment this relationship is only fitfully recognized. One form of tacit recognition is the university committee composed of teachers, students, and administrators. The reciprocity is also recognized, in effect, when either of the former groups has an argument with the latter and negotiates an understanding. And it is institutionalized by arrangements in which an administrator teaches a course, or in which a faculty member represents peer interest to the administration or serves temporarily within the administration—the first being typically the head of the senate, the second a dean. In a time of scarcity and fiercely competing demands, it becomes important to regularize direct administration involvement in the teaching-and-learning process. One possibility is a workshop involving representatives of all three constituencies. A better possibility is an ongoing seminar in which representatives lead discussions of educational problems as team teachers. This is not to be thought of as a committee in disguise, but as another form of deutero-learning.

The role at issue here is a transcendent role: not that of the student, teacher, or administrator, but that of the member of the whole institution. This, the whole institution, is the collective

corollary of the whole person of whom I have spoken. The educational goal is learning how to learn the member role. Going a step further, we should think about other means of consciousness-raising that would replace student, faculty, or administration leadership with such an institutional membership.

Evaluating and Accounting

How does one evaluate this interplay? Perhaps not at all, if by evaluation one means the application of some of the grotesquely naive, pseudo-objective "instruments" that continue to float about. Before "evaluation" gets completely out of hand, we had better take the step that logically complements the one just described, and evaluate the evaluator. While that is going on, we would be well advised to insure that we maintain a balance of evaluative procedures: teachers should be evaluated by students, by peers, by colleagues of higher rank, and by themselves. These constituencies, in turn, may want to explore ways of evaluating administrators, who should not be omitted from any phase of the teaching-learning process. Again, the aim is a procedure as involving and as holistic as possible.

The reader who guesses that these remarks are leading to further negative comments on cost-effective approaches is correct. Before it is anything else, the cost-effective approach is a mode of consciousness; it is far from developing anything like an adequate methodology, let alone a holistic theory. Something as essential as the quality of a particular educational endeavor is beyond its ability to judge, the problem of translating quality into quantity being as near solution as the polarity of the Many and the One. What type of accounting can reckon, at a given moment, the productivity of a teacher with a handful of young painters in a studio-art class? If teachers help any of them to be a major artist, they have done a good job. But they have also done a good job if they help everyone else to paint better, and in some way to live better lives. To speak of increasing these teachers' productivity makes no sense. As Walter Adams, past president of the AAUP and an economist, points out, "it would be ludicrous to improve the efficiency of a symphony orchestra by pruning the oboe players (who for long periods are doing nothing), or streamlining the violins (many of whom are

playing the same notes and are thus guilty of duplication), or eliminating some of the musical passages (many of which are repetitious and hence seem redundant). . . ."

The cost-effective approach brings a new level of consciousness, the next logical step—in line with the one already proposed—is to lift it, too, to a higher level, to make it conscious of itself. The questions that need to be asked include: How effective is this kind of effectiveness; what goals and values does it presuppose; and what is its hidden agenda, or better, its hidden ideology?

What is here proposed means more getting-together, more discussion of basic issues in education. The usual objection is that this means reinventing the wheel: aren't there shelves of reports by well-known committees and commissions? For one thing, the analogy is false. The history of invention is a history of reinvention—multiple, incremental, piggybacking, repetitious, overlapping. Moreover, those reports are congeries of interpretation, opinions, recommendations: they are as much *doxa* as *scientia*, as much belief as knowledge. On the actual teaching and learning process, their bearing is often limited. There is a vast difference between a report and a lived experience, and it is the latter on which we need to focus. For teachers and learners to work together on educational problems is not at all the same as repeating the content of a report, even when the issues are sometimes the same. It is a concrete historical event for which the opportunity arises but rarely.

Beneficial Strife

The structure of our contemporary society, like that of archaic society, seems to be increasingly antithetical and agonistic (Huizinga). The same applies, perhaps more forcefully, to our system of higher education. In both—in the society and in the system—we are experiencing a time of beneficial strife. It is not merely that the constituent elements of the system are becoming more competitive; it is more a case of having to defend, and thereby becoming aware of, the hidden oppositions. (To these the hidden curriculum and the hidden agenda bear more than a slight family resemblance.)

It becomes helpful in such a time to reflect on the nature of competition. In a system with a strong hierarchical impulse (the

differentiation of a top 5%, etc.), there is an inevitable tendency toward the canonical. Sometimes explicitly, but more often implicitly, the system validates a doctrine of correctness. Achievement is marginal difference; originality is deviant. Such a system maintains its equilibrium by a mode of differentiation that is, in reality, a trivial variation of the same. I would call this a static equilibrium, as distinguished from the dynamic equilibrium we should be trying to attain. I would not be happy to see this system overturned; but I would like to see it given a pretty good shake.

We could use something like Leonard Livesey's "rogue event":

> I hope we can identify a kind of "rogue event" in the systems that is itself preserved. I'll not belabor the idea of a property of systems that creates or searches out disorder, except to mention that if, as it is said, our values are forged "in the conflict of opposites," then our disorder-seeking impulses are needed to ensure a *ready supply* of opposites.

Such an event is not something that "just happens." It is a constituent element of the system, and probably deserves a better name. Certainly it is not something for which one waits, but something one deliberately encourages and defends. It includes what we call innovation and experiment. Is there a place for innovation and experiment in a period of retrenchment? There may never be a better one, for retrenchment expresses that larger phenomenon of redistribution which, far from being confined to this country or its higher education, is global. Although our main job, as educators, is to accomplish redistribution in our own sector, we can do this only by means of a general reconsideration. A continuing commitment to innovation and experiment forces reconsideration, for each new effort is a challenge to some old one. Often we discover that the old ones were good, sometimes even better; or that we simply need to modify them. This in itself is sufficient cause for forging ahead. If, in the forging, we find something that is both new and superior—so much the better.

Turning practical, these endeavors can be paid for by the tithe or matrix method, wherein the university (or system) allocates from the budget a percentage to be used for the improvement of teaching and learning. Departments contribute released time in exchange for

a credit toward its share of the total allocation. As incentive, it earns extra credit for contributing beyond that share. The contribution might take the form of preparing experimental interdisciplinary courses, as described above, or faculty development, or improvement of advising.

The Curriculum and the Region

I have put off till now considering what this means for that perennial *enfant terrible*, the core curriculum. Does such a thing exist? We should first bear in mind that the core probably looks, in retrospect, harder than it was. A core is a nucleus radiating toward other nuclei that are more and more specialized; it is never more than approximately defined. There continues to exist, in any case, a kind of categorical core curriculum, based upon an implicit notion of regions. Thus we find certain kinds of studies gathered together as humanities, others as social sciences, others as natural sciences. This is not, strictly, a departmental or even disciplinary arrangement. History, for example, can appear in either the first or second region, or even in the third, as in the case of the history of science. A region, rather, is what a given epistemic community regards as appropriately its concern. Our immediate question is not what particular books to teach—that question is more like the final test. We need now to recognize that regional structuring represents a community's sense of identity based upon a notion of what is normal. This means regarding any other region as being more or less "different." When some new concern or pattern arises, it means deciding whether, in its ramifications, it is "too different" or "sufficiently the same." If the former, the region declines to incorporate it; if the latter, it enters the region. But sometimes neither occurs, and then we see another region develop. It appears that this is the case with interdisciplinary study, which is bidding fair to be a region in its own right. How revolutionary this is remains to be seen. One could argue that this region is the place where future paradigm shifts (Kuhn) are likely to occur; that "extraordinary science" will transpire here while "normal science" transpires in the other regions. It is more probable, in my view, that this region provides a way of mediating the pressures in the other regions, such that, in time, better regional configurations can occur.

Sawing a little more into the limb onto which I have ventured, I suggest that a core curriculum can be rebuilt among the three regions by exposing students to the classics, literature and language (the student's own and at least one other), philosophy, the performing arts, history, psychology, sociology, economics, physics, biology, and mathematics. The list is provisional; still more so are the things to be taught in the newly emerging region, but I would want to include along with genetics (a discipline which is several disciplines) various types of comparative studies in ecology, urban affairs, international problems, and the humanities-and-sciences "interface." The configurations which will emerge in this region, and the changes they will force in other regions, fully justify adopting a financing plan such as the one discussed above.

It is probable that, under the auspices of this newest region, one can begin to shift curricular weight toward the problem of higher education itself. Outside of schools of education, this is an almost completely neglected subject. Yet it is one which ought to be of interest to any student. When Roger Shattuck, in this context, urges his colleagues to give students in the humanities region a chance to study the topic of education, he is being *daring*. Chairman Mao is less daring when he says that education means the schools plus the press—or better, in an American context, the media. The nexus of schools and media ought, too, to be studied in "region four." From what perspective? Amherst president John William Ward suggested one when he observed: "The First Amendment is one way to define the essence of education." A freedom-of-speech focus would lead to a study, inevitably, of the Free Speech movement—whose effects we have not ceased to feel. It should also lead with the same inevitability to a reconsideration (as proposed by Earl J. McGrath) of such "core curriculum" texts as Plato's *Apology*, Milton's *Areopagitica*, and Mill's *On Liberty*, as well as landmark law cases and judicial opinions.

Eventually teachers—especially those in the liberal arts—must face the question of *vocationalism* head-on; so must the institutions in which they work. Where the confrontation has already occurred, the liberal arts have too often played the role of defender, while the advocates of vocationalism have been cast in the role of attackers. This need not be. In the first place, the distinction between courses that train and courses that don't train is almost as dubious as the distinction between skills and values. A humanistic course trains the individual to be more receptive to certain values and procedures;

which means rejecting certain other values and procedures; which means making a judgment and a separation; which means *going through a crisis*; which means a deciding, within the limits of the course, how to act and what to be. All of this contributes significantly to the formation of the person who later elects such and such a vocation. Vocational training, similarly, rewards the learner for behaving in this way rather than that way—that is, it sets a value on certain types of action leading toward an educational goal. Now the specific goals of the two types of training, the vocational and the liberal, may differ; however, the difference between the two is not a chasm, but the difference between two points on a scale.

In retrospect, this kind of development may be seen as one manifestation of a consolidating trend toward regionality. We have been considering it here principally from the curricular point of view, but the same phenomenon appears in the rise of the regional consortium, the Danforth and Lilly networks of centers, and other collective structures. It is evidently connected not only with the fuel shortage (which encourages people to stick closer to home), but with the whole notion of access, which frequently includes the requirement of geographical proximity. Politically, it is connected with the populist movement and the emergence of the regional primary, as well as in the federal-state funding teeter-totter, where the greater weight of responsibility is borne by that type of region we call a state. Regionalizing also responds to calls for "deschooling society," to the extent that it fosters something like local enterprise, while it parallels a growing interest in trimming industry, and its products, to size. To view the phenomenon in terms of scale alone, however, is to emphasize the quantitative over the qualitative. Ultimately, the aim of this development is not merely to make do with less; the aim is, with that less, to do better.

Getting One's Bearings

Adam Yarmolinsky

While thinking about what one could say on the simple subject of the purposes of education, I recalled an interview with Oscar Levant. The press had asked him about the functions of pornography, an issue which was very much in the news at the time. He looked off into the distance, thought a bit, and then replied, "Well, it helps."

The topic of this discussion—purposes of education—was before an Aspen Institute seminar on "The Educated Person" in 1974. Many views were expressed. Much argument took place. But I think it's fair to say that in the course of three weeks that seminar was totally unable to answer the question, What is an educated person?

It's not difficult to understand why it's such a problem to define the purposes of education, or even to describe them: Education is about how to cope, and perhaps about how to enjoy. It's getting harder and harder to cope, and, while I don't know that the sum of human enjoyment is any less, it certainly seems more serendipitous. Education draws from accumulated human experience. Yet, at the same time that this experience is increasing in volume, it is also decreasing in relevance.

In a workshop on multi-campus systems, we struggled to identify the purposes of higher education, so that we could decide how multi-campus state systems of higher education could contribute more effectively to those purposes. But, as near as I can figure out, we sidestepped the question—by deciding that higher education will have to be more responsive to the changing needs and demands of society, and that state systems, if properly managed, could make them more responsive. At our last session we were asked to play the game of "If I were chancellor" (or, "If I am still chancellor," in some

cases). And we were to come forth with specific proposals for action. The day before that we were playing a different game—something like, "If I were a philosopher. . . ." Now, even as an amateur philosopher, my instincts are essentially inductive, and I want to begin with the purposes of my own education—past, present and future.

Putting aside the various purposes of those who have tried to educate me over the years, I believe that my own primary motivation has been to get my bearings in the great, blooming, buzzing confusion of the world around me. Of course, there have been subordinate motivations: pleasing my parents, competing with my classmates, acquiring and maintaining qualifications for worthwhile and remunerative work. But those, I think, were always rather secondary. Perhaps "getting one's bearings" is too limited a metaphor to describe the educational purpose or set of purposes that I have in mind. It implies a universe more nearly subject to rational analysis than we know it to be. It suggests a man on a boat with a rudder, a compass, a chart, and a sextant—rather than someone hanging on to a rotten log in a storm. But I propose to hang on to my metaphor through the storm because I can use it to support the four major concerns of my education, which I will label (with apologies) as continuity, cross-referencing, curiosity-satisfying, and contact.

The need for continuity seems to me about as basic as the fear of falling. I want to see my life and times in a stream of events that stretches a long way back, and, I hope, some distance ahead. And I want to see that continuity in space as well as in time. I remember examining a fascinating book of photographs put together by a physical scientist. He took a picture of a woman and a baby on a beach somewhere in Florida, and then he moved the camera up, in successive distances multiplied by an order of 10, until he reached a point at which our whole galaxy was visible. Then he moved the camera down again, until it was looking into a pore in the woman's hand. It seemed to me the sense of continuity that one derives from that educational experience—or from Lewis Thomas' essays on the world of the cell and what goes on within that universe as observed through the microscope—establishes a kind of continuity between that world and the world of orders of size we're used to thinking about.

So much for continuity. Cross-referencing seems to help me to a better understanding of the immediate phenomena in my life. When I served in the Kennedy Administration, I found it helpful to revert

to my rather limited knowledge of life at medieval courts. I have recently spent some time working in the field of health care and in associating with physicians, and I find that my previous experience associating with soldiers in the Pentagon has been extraordinarily illuminating. I even discovered the case of an unhappy young Ph.D. physiologist who was working in a university hospital and finally left to take another job, because the docs wouldn't let him wear a white coat. I recognized that too. And I remember coming across a copy of William Dean Howell's too-little-recognized novel *A Hazard of New Fortunes*. It struck me particularly because the novel concerns a man who moves his job and family from Boston to New York just before the turn of the century. Having recently made the move myself to New York (and then happily back again), the analogies seemed extraordinarily illuminating. Analogies do illuminate—paradoxically, in almost direct proportion to their distance. The more distant the analogy, the more light it sheds on the subject.

Curiosity may be the most basic educational impulse—like filling in the blanks on the crossword puzzle, even if you know that you can't ever finish the puzzle. And an important part of curiosity, I suggest, is discovering new ways to fill in the blanks. I'm not just talking about curiosity about facts, but also curiosity about how you acquire new facts and new principles—if you will, the principles of an epistomology.

Lastly, contact: E. M. Forster, in that extraordinarily insightful novel *Howard's End*, has his protagonist repeat, at critical points in the novel, the phrase: "Only connect. Only connect." In Forster's best known novel *Passage to India*, the kinds of human contact which Forster's characters reach out for—across barriers of class and culture—require, if not an educated mind, an educated heart which is also a product of a kind of education.

Now that I've broken down my metaphor of "getting one's bearings" into its component parts, I suspect that perhaps a more accurate figure for the purposes of my education might be to obtain those glimpses of boundless ocean and cloudy sky that come from a flash of lightening in the midst of the storm. These striking but partial insights are really what I continue to look for from my own education. I recognize that my educational purposes may not be at all the same as another person's. And I recall Shaw's version of the Golden Rule: "Do not do with others as you would have them do unto you; their tastes may be different." But I see some basis for common purposes. As an educator, most of my daily work consists

of drawing analogies and sharing insights with others. And that's probably true of most educators, even the administrators. Educators choose that kind of work, and they probably choose that kind of education as well. The more interesting question, I suspect, is what should be the purposes of education for the great majority of people who are *not* in my line of work.

Let me immediately insert two *caveats* here, based in part on my unhappy experiences. I do not mean to suggest that my line of work is superior, either educationally or in any other way, even though I happen to like it. And I do not mean to draw invidious distinctions between brain-workers and hand-workers. The great majority I refer to includes the great majority of contributors to PMLA. Nor do I mean to suggest that I or anyone else have the right to tell other people, young or old, what the purposes of their education should be. They won't let educators make their basic decisions for them—they will make their own decisions, if necessary by voting with their feet. And, as more and more students are adults, these decisions will have greater and greater effect on the shape of higher education. Still, we're entitled to express our opinions, and I would try to persuade anyone who would listen that the primary purposes of his education should be to increase his sense of continuity, to expand his set of cross-references, to try to satisfy his curiosity, and to learn to make contact.

Now, clearly, there are more immediate purposes of education for most people. The most immediate is probably the acquisition of skills to work in the world, along with the necessary formal credentials that seem to be essential for admission to full citizenship in the world of work. But I submit that anyone whose education is limited simply to preparation for work will find himself or herself poorly equipped for the inevitable changes in the shape and content of that work. In this world, change is the only fixed condition. On the other hand, education in finding one's bearings necessarily includes some concentration on a particular body of knowledge or skills. It requires that the student find a pair of coordinates on a changing map, so that, with a little bit of luck, he or she can enter the world of work at that point. And where anyone ends up in the world of work is unpredictable in any event.

Another simple purpose of education is to change the world. But if one is going to change the world, he ought to have some sense of how it is now changing, and how it has changed before he got

here. Otherwise, he may find himself like the red queen, running to stand still—or like the white knight, reinventing the wheel.

Still another common purpose of education is to appear educated. This is sometimes called "education for leisure." I can only observe that people who think of leisure that way must work awfully hard at it. I prefer to think of leisure, with Walt Whitman, as a time to loaf and invite one's soul—which is also part of the process of education.

Lastly, there is a more serious notion abroad that being educated depends on absorbing a body of general knowledge or wisdom. That was the issue on which "The Educated Person" seminar was divided. I believe there is no longer (although there may have been at one time) a single body of knowledge capable of being comprehended by one individual. Now I do not deny the unity of knowledge. The only thing I deny is one person's ability to encompass it. The fundamental purpose of education, therefore, is not to accumulate learning, but to acquire the capacity for insight without losing the strength to act on one's insights. Education is rather like the descent of grace. Though grace may not descend, one must be ready. Elizabeth McCormack told us in our seminar that to be educated is to be uncomfortable, but not to be paralyzed; to see ambiguity and to live with it. The capacity to tolerate ambiguity has been described as the hallmark of the creative mind, and I can't think of a better purpose for education than to foster the development of that mind.

PART THREE: Societal Needs, System Changes

New Assumptions, New Doctorates

Ernest A. Lynton

I believe that it is very important to reexamine the assumptions and the values on which were based the development of the current system of higher education. There is much in that system of great value, and it is clear that, over the past two decades, much has been accomplished. On the other hand, I do think that we have made some fundamental errors which have come to haunt us.

For me, there are some real questions about the very aspects of higher education of which we are most proud: graduate studies and the flagship campuses of our state systems. Our current practices and attitudes reflect and are direct consequences of a decision made about twenty years ago. Considerable growth of higher education had already taken place, right after World War II, in order to cope with the influx of veterans taking advantage of the G. I. Bill. But the real boom began with Sputnik in 1954. During subsequent years, expansion was almost explosive, and the striking fact is that this enormous growth took place by replicating existing institutions. We set out to recreate what we already had—but magnified by a factor of ten, and without really asking ourselves whether more is better, whether educational needs were really best met in this fashion. The way in which we responded to the enormous pressures for increased access, and took advantage of the public funds available for this purpose, was essentially to duplicate a few existing major state universities. We set out to create, almost overnight, some sixty or

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seventy copies of Madison and Berkeley, of Ann Arbor and Urbana, where only seven or eight such institutions had existed before.

That decision, which was quite a conscious and deliberate one with broad participation and endorsement, was based on a widely held sense of an academic hierarchy. As a result of that decision, this sense of hierarchy was enormously strengthened and perhaps irrevocably fixed in the academy. It is one which judges the ultimate worth of an educational institution by the number of Ph.D. programs which it offers and the amount of basic research which it carries on. Obviously Ph.D. programs and fundamental research are enormously valuable aspects of higher education—but, by placing so much (indeed, almost exclusive) emphasis on the development of university centers with doctoral programs and large research efforts, we inevitably downgraded all other academic activities on the university campuses and all other types of educational institutions as compared to universities. I believe that, as a result, we have, within our universities, devalued teaching as compared with research, undergraduate studies as compared with graduate instruction, applied and professional fields as compared with the "pure" arts and sciences. We have similarly devalued four year institutions as compared with universities. We always speak of the flagship campuses, and of the senior institutions, and relegate all others to lesser categories.

For the first half of this century, our few universities combined some of the best elements of the English and German institutions. Faculty saw themselves as dons as much as they wanted to be Professors; they identified with their institution as much as they did with their fellow specialists, and, on the whole, the balance between these various aspects was a felicitous one. But, as of the mid-fifties, we quite deliberately abandoned the English model to follow the Teutonic one. And although this doubtlessly led to major intellectual achievements, and an enormous blossoming of research and of advanced instruction, much was also lost in the process, as we have now come to recognize.

If, by our choice, we created an unnecessary dichotomy between teaching and research, we also created much too large a gap between the pure and the applied, and between the long-range benefits and the short-range services of professional activity. We forgot, in a very real sense, the essence of the Morrill Act and of the land grant institutions which it created: that there is a continuum

linking research with direct applications, and that there can be a useful flow of ideas in both directions.

I believe that much harm would have been created by our quite single-minded emphasis on the development of scores of major university centers devoted to graduate education and pure research of the highest quality even if we had been fully successful in this enterprise. But, unfortunately, we were not fully successful, as could well have been predicted had we not all shared that boundless American optimism and the belief that anything can be created and accomplished with enough money and enough enthusiasm. Unfortunately, quality cannot be created at will in unlimited quantities, and it is high time that we faced up to the realities of our situation. It is not that we have failed—far from it. Certainly, in every one of our major state universities, there are pockets of excellence which would probably not have existed if the massive development of flagship campuses had not taken place. Furthermore, some of our more recent institutions have, in a short time, reached an extraordinary overall level of quality. This has contributed immeasurably to the development of new knowledge and the education of first-rate scholars.

But we have not succeeded as fully and as uniformly as our own rhetoric would have us believe. Each of us also knows—however seldom we acknowledge it—that in most of the major institutions, even in some quite prestigious ones, there are pockets of mediocrity side by side with the pockets of excellence. Our flagships have some very rusty portions!

It is high time that we faced up to the limitations of our success so as to recognize the fallacy of our hierarchical view of higher education and to adopt the more constructive view that each of our great variety of institutions and academic activities has its value. We have increasingly come to realize that a major virtue and advantage of a multi-campus system of higher education lies in its ability to develop differentiated functions among its constituent institutions. But that is possible only if we consider each of the several functions to be as important as all the others, and if we recognize that the university centers can concentrate on their mission only because other parts of the system are doing their particular thing. As long as we maintain the hierarchy of the past two decades, we will continue to witness the spectacle of institutional upward

mobility, with two-year colleges striving to give the baccalaureate degree, and four-year colleges wanting to be universities with graduate programs. And, at the same time, we will perpetuate the downgrading of teaching and of applied and professional activities within all institutions.

If the mode of development of the past twenty years has had a deleterious effect on our institutions, it has also been harmful to our students, perhaps most particularly to our graduate students.

In each of the flagship campuses which were created full-blown with ample state and federal support in the brief period between the mid-fifties and the late sixties, we created score upon score of Ph.D. programs. Some were superb, some adequate, some downright indifferent or even second-rate. All of them, however, churned out Ph.D.s in appreciable numbers, and this, I submit, should be viewed as a major problem, even if there were no fear of overproduction of Ph.D.s. Doctoral programs, as they exist today, are the most vocational of all degree programs. They really do not educate; they train. And their purpose, to the virtual exclusion of all else, is self-replication of the faculty in charge. It is an almost medieval pattern of apprenticeship to the guild, and it is a pattern which works in fact brilliantly in the exceptional cases, but which makes coolies of our graduate students in most others. Furthermore, the training is so narrowly conceived that a fresh Ph.D. moving into any career other than being a university faculty member very quickly comes up against the need for substantial retraining and redirection on the job.

Furthermore, everything about our university centers socializes our graduate students to accept the hierarchy of intellectual and educational values inherent in our institutions. In most universities, the best and the brightest among graduate students are rewarded with research fellowships, while the teaching assistantship is distinctly a consolation prize for those in the middle of the pack. This is a clear message about the secondary value of teaching as compared to research. And, of course, our graduate students, if they do find jobs in colleges or universities, take along that same sense of priorities.

These kinds of conditions would call for change, even if there were plenty of jobs for Ph.D.s—but, as we keep hearing from all sides, these jobs are becoming more and more scarce. The most recent projections, which compare Ph.D. production with what we would at this time consider to be appropriate academic or other

jobs for Ph.D.s, show that, by the end of the decade, the situation will become much worse even than it is now. And there is the distinct possibility of a total disappearance of the traditional markets for Ph.D.s. These projections, probably, are unduly pessimistic, but, even if one extrapolates current estimates much more positively, the outlook is grim and calls for a substantial redirection of the energies of our institutions and their faculties, particularly in the arts and sciences.

Either the focus must shift to much a greater proportion of undergraduate instruction (which would have serious implications with regard to the ratio of undergraduate to graduate instruction we consider reasonable for a major university center); or, alternatively, if we want to maintain our current proportion of 15 percent to 30 percent of graduate instruction, we will very obviously have to develop new approaches and new purposes for graduate instruction, and also reach out to new clients for such programs.

In my opinion, this development ought to take place in two ways simultaneously. First, I believe that we must reduce, and ultimately eliminate, the false dichotomy between the pure and the applied, the professional and the liberal arts. There exists a number of areas—some already the focus of occasional attention, others as yet unexplored—in which one can envision the creation of new graduate programs with very real employment opportunities and, at the same time, substantial intellectual challenges.

The other major effort needed is the systematic development of off-campus graduate programs, both in traditional fields and in some of the new areas. Many have addressed themselves to the vast need, as well as the potential, for continuing and adult education, and it is unnecessary to belabor this point. I merely want to emphasize the importance—and, at the same time, the great difficulty—of breaking out of the twenty-year-old mold of the detached, isolated, and introspective university center in which graduate work is necessarily full-time, residential, and basically an apprenticeship prior to following the footsteps of the master. Instead, we must come to recognize the enormous need, as well as the great challenge, of providing education at the graduate level to a much greater variety of people in many different and flexible ways and in a vast variety of places.

With all this, I do not mean either to advocate or to suggest as likely the total abandonment of the major university as we know it

today. On the contrary, I believe, both because of the inherent strengths of the current system as well as because of the natural inertia of institutions and of people, that ten or twenty years from now, our major campuses will retain most of their current character. I believe that we will have a situation which some people will view as a half-full glass and others as a half-empty one. Systems are conservative, and institutions are conservative. Because of this, I believe that, by the turn of the century, seventy or eighty percent of the instruction provided by our universities will be pretty much what it is now, both in content and methodology. But it is also possible to look at this in reverse, and think of twenty to thirty percent of the present campus-based and traditional instruction as being taken off-campus and being vastly different from anything we know today. That is approximately the proportion which I envision, and perhaps, in about ten or fifteen years, some twenty percent of our current instruction effort will be directed to life-long education, to off-campus education, to non-traditional education of various kinds. The existing general shape of our current institutions will continue to be clearly visible, and yet there would be profound changes as well.

Urban Mission Universities

James Hoge

The concept of some public universities fulfilling a special "urban mission" is still relatively new and, therefore, the subject of ongoing contention. In education circles, there is constant debate over what constitutes an urban mission and how a university should realize it, if at all.

The idea of special roles for some institutions of higher learning is not new in this country. Land-grant universities represented a conscious public policy decision to strengthen rural America. Proponents of the urban mission idea argue for something similar in metropolitan areas, now that the nation's population is primarily urban. Of course, numerous campuses located in or near cities consciously provide services geared to metropolitan constituencies. The urban mission concept is broader in scope, connoting public insitutions conceived from the ground up as having a special role. This concept is embodied in the development of such new campuses as the University of Massachusetts at Boston, the University of Missouri at St. Louis, the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, and the University of Illinois at Chicago.

The development of these institutions has suffered from continuing struggles over the requirements of an urban mission concept. How much, for example, should these campuses strive for recognition in traditional ways? And how much should they innovate with admissions practices, allocations to competing faculties, services to neighboring communities, and curriculum offerings?

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At the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle campus, wrangling over these questions has been more debilitating than fruitful during the institution's ten-year history. Frustration peaked in the summer of 1975 and left Chicago Circle with a chancellorship and five deanships vacant.

The need for clarification and hard choices is becoming more urgent as higher education enters an era of declining enrollments, tighter state budgets, and increasing public pressure for university-generated services to communities. Ironically, this environment of relative scarcity heightens the internal feuding between faculties over the allocation of resources. At Chicago Circle, the upper hand has been held by traditionalists. Yet they may be winning a battle, but losing a war, because large states, such as Illinois, will be increasingly wary of financing a comprehensive university in addition to those already operating.

Because of internal rivalries, the urban mission universities are failing to build necessary constituencies within their political and civic communities so that they can adequately contest for limited financial resources. In state legislatures, they are already up against a stacked deck. Established public universities, usually in non-urban environments, have built up and cultivated their constituencies over many years. Moreover, the new political forces of the suburbs are aligning with rural interests rather than inner-city interests on issue after issue.

I believe the urban mission concept is valid for some universities, and I am fearful they will miss their opportunities to offer new mixes of traditional and innovative education geared to metropolitan needs.

By espousing the concept of an urban mission, I do not mean to suggest these campuses become merely community colleges. These universities ought to have national interests and faculties with national reputations. What I am saying is that, at this particular time, the internal resistance to fulfilling the urban mission part of their mandates is so great that they aren't fulfilling any mandate very well. At this stage, such stagnation is unfair to the public and its educational needs. A major obstacle is the pride of faculties intent on competing with established universities on their terms, rather than on new, innovative terms. As much as this may satisfy scholastic egos, it means that a great social purpose is being delayed and short-changed. Since this is a public policy issue as much as an educational issue, at some point there is going to have to be more dialogue between the educational community and the larger public.

My personal wish list would include the following: I would like to see urban mission universities designing programs and curricula which take more into account their employment-preparation function. Whole areas of potential employment are opening up for which there is now inadequate educational preparation—para-legal work, para-medical work, and so forth. I would like to see these universities feel less reluctant to engage in research on specific urban problems, often problems of the cities in which they are located. I would like to see them performing consultative functions within their communities, and engaging more in problem-solving. I would like to see them open up the question of tenure. If these institutions are going to be more innovative, it seems to me that the standards of tenure applicable at other institutions might not be appropriate to urban mission universities. For example, a strictly academic background is not going to bring into the educational environment the kind of people that students need to meet if they are to understand the problems of cities and the practical application of urban sciences. Lastly, I would like to see more experimentation with enrollment. At Chicago Circle, approximately twelve percent of the freshman class is brought in with the knowledge that it won't meet the standards of that university without 'on the premises' remedial programs.

If the urban mission universities do not resolve their academic identity crises—thus enabling them to perform their roles with more vigor—we will run the risk of some very expensive universities becoming second-rate educational institutions without much purpose at all. More importantly, they will lose their constituencies, ones which are already tender from bearing the unresolved problems of urban America. In short, a great educational challenge confronting this country will have been missed.

The Learning Worker

Nancy Tapper

My purpose is to aid all of us in perceiving the difficulties which face the individual worker attempting to become a learning worker—that is, a worker who also is a student, and who, one hopes, can make some connections between those two roles. I would also like to consider how non-traditional programs, and Empire State College in particular, can help to alleviate some of those difficulties.

How many people are we talking about when we speak of "new student constituencies"? In 1972, the Commission on Non-Traditional Study concluded that 75% of the 18 to 60 year old population would like to be learners, while 30% of them actually were. Thus, considering New York City alone, there are 6.75 million would-be learners. That leaves a very large population to be served. Why are they not being served, and how can they be in the future?

Clearly, a large number of these prospective students are workers. Let's look at our worker in some reasonably chronological way and discover the hurdles she faces as she attempts to become a learner. The first hurdle is *adequate information*. How does she find out about the various alternatives that are open to her, and which ones match her needs and her competencies? I would submit that this is one of the most difficult problems facing adults—the lack of a counseling service which would lead an adult to examine her own competencies, help her to study her goals and what she needs to do to reach them, and provide information about the alternatives available. Many academic institutions have a counseling service, of course,

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but usually this is reserved for present students or prospective students at that particular institution. It would be rare indeed for such a service to give information about *other* institutions. Such wide-ranging counseling would probably have to be provided by a public agency, or perhaps by a cooperating group of institutions.

The second problem, related to the first, is *self-doubt*. Many adults are very timid about returning to school, and they tend to deny or downgrade the competencies they have. Again, sympathetic counseling might help, as would the availability of other learning modes which would not force an adult into a classroom of 18 to 21 year olds.

A third related difficulty is *the image of the academic institution*. Unfortunately, the academic institution is still seen—and in some cases justifiably so—as an exclusive, elitist enclave. This image is changing very slowly and is still a potent barrier.

Suppose our worker has finally found the institution that suits her and is now about to make an application. There are several aspects of most application forms that may discourage her—the computerization of the forms, which tends very much to depersonalize them; the impression given that the form is an exclusionary device used to screen people out (often this is true even in open admissions situations); and the fact that students are frequently asked questions appropriate only for young recent high school graduates. I should add that this last is also true for financial aid applications. How does a 50-year-old student feel when she sees a question about her parents' income?

Which raises the next hurdle—*financial aid*. Of course, this is an obstacle for everyone, but it is particularly serious for adults, since frequently they have substantial family responsibilities. It is difficult for them to choose to put any of their limited resources into their own education, instead of their families. Since there are now many people concerned about the incredible maze which financial aid has become, it can be hoped that some new single system, such as the "educational entitlement," may soon emerge.

Before matriculation, the last obstacle affecting access to the academic institution is *timing*. It just happens that September is not the most convenient time for everybody to start school. Certainly, it is not the best time for adults whose kids may also be starting then. This problem of lack of flexibility in starting-time also carries over after matriculation, since many adults cannot create a class schedule which suits their time needs. Furthermore, it is rarely

possible to step out of school, other than at the end of a semester or quarter, without academic and financial penalties. Unfortunately, job or family crises don't always occur at semester-end!

A more complex academic difficulty is that of *content and mode of learning*. The adult frequently would like to have considerably more control over both the content and the mode of the academic program than the younger student. She would like to be able to have her prior learning legitimized, and be able to build an academic program which suits her competencies, her needs, and her style of learning. We have tended to make our youngsters into passive learners, perhaps because of the great influence of television. It is perhaps difficult to take an active part in one's own education at any age. But this autonomy and direction in planning academic programs is somewhat more natural and more expected for adults, who have been actively controlling their own lives for some time. The learning worker should also be a working learner.

Last, but not least, on this far from exhaustive list of problems is *location*. We need to break away from the concept of the college as one concrete place, which may or may not be convenient for its users, and to think of learning as a relatively portable commodity which can be carried to where people are, rather than *vice versa*.

Empire State College is one example of a non-traditional program which has solved some of these problems—obviously not in the only ways possible. Other institutions have found other solutions, and some of the problems (such as financial aid and pre-admission counseling) will have to be solved by other agencies or through combined efforts.

ESC is the newest unit of the State University of New York—approximately four years old. It is a decentralized college, with over 20 locations and 3500 students throughout the state. At the New York City learning center where I was Dean, the approximately 400 students range in age from 17 to 83, with an average age of 38. Most of the students at Empire State work full-time, and most have come with a mixture of formal and informal learning experiences in their backgrounds.

The College utilizes modes of learning which are alternatives to the classroom, though regular courses may be included in a student's program. Each student works with a faculty member, or mentor, on a one-to-one basis, and designs an individual study plan which meets her educational needs and purposes. Credit toward a degree may be granted for learning that has taken place prior to enrollment, if that

learning can be articulated and documented. The College attempts to respond to needs for flexibility of time and place.

Looking at some of the previous problems for the adult student, we can see some of the ways in which ESC has responded. At the New York City Center, we have made concerted efforts to "take the College to the community," both physically and informationally. Information sessions for prospective students have been held all over the city—in community organizations, museums, hospitals, etc. Not only has this provided communication about the College, it has also clearly affected its image. In addition, the NYC Center has developed two other locations, where a mentor or mentors can meet with students near their home or work—one in the South Bronx and one (funded by the Carnegie Corporation) in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The academic program at ESC is entirely individualized in content and mode. The student is required to examine her past experience and to articulate and document any learning which has occurred. This is a very difficult process, but for most students it is also a profound learning experience in itself. The student then also examines her objectives, and she designs, with the help of her mentor, a degree program to reach those objectives. That program is fulfilled through a series of "contracts" or learning plans—each of which specifies objectives for a particular time-period, the learning activities to be utilized, and the ways in which the student will be evaluated. These learning activities may include anything which results in measurable, college-level learning—courses, independent study, internships, etc. Thus the student has a great flexibility in how she designs her program, and in how she achieves her objectives.

I spoke earlier of the need for time flexibility for adult students. At ESC, students are admitted each month. Students may withdraw and re-enter (within minor restrictions) at any time. Contracts designed for 3 months may take longer with no academic penalty. (There is, of course, tuition liability.) As a result, family crises or financial problems or weariness need not cost the student added burdens.

To illustrate the kinds of students who need some or all of the flexibilities mentioned here, I will give just a few examples of real students (with fictitious names).

Elizabeth is a student at the South Bronx location of the New York City center. She is a middle-management worker at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Health Center, and provides the sole support for her family of eleven children. She lives and works in the South Bronx,

has a full-time job, and more than the usual load of family responsibilities. Clearly, she could not have gone to the usual academic institution because of timing inflexibilities. Because she simply could not have found the time to travel to the regional Center even once every two weeks to consult with her mentor, she could also not have gone to ESC, except that we had a satellite in the South Bronx. The immediate accessibility of her mentor, at lunch break or in an hour off, allows her to design a program which utilizes both her work experience and independent study done at home, where the entire learning atmosphere has changed as a result of her being a student. She is now in friendly competition with her four oldest children (two in college and two in high school), and everyone's grades have gone up!

Frank is Vice President of a science research company, and has 200 people working under him—all with Ph.D.s. He had an excellent background, gained through independent study and his work experience, in computers, languages, mathematical models, engineering problems, etc. He's in his 50s, happy in his job, not looking for a change in career or for a degree to legitimize his career. When pressed for an answer to why he was at ESC, he responded that he felt there must be "more to life," and that there must be some way to integrate the learning he has. He designed a unique, searching degree program, which began very broad and open, but ended with a passionate specialization in psycholinguistics. He is now in a Ph.D. program and is planning to change careers after all. I believe he could not have found what he wanted in a departmentalized course structure.

Dave, a man in his 50s, is a very successful fund-raiser, and his job calls for his being on the road much of the time. He does not want to stay in fund-raising but wants to become an anthropologist —a long-standing interest. He has plenty of time to study, but it has to be done on his schedule, and at his choice of location, if he is to hold his present job until educated for another.

Jane is training to be an occupational therapist. She was a hospital clerk at the time that the position of therapist opened up. The job required a degree, but she was told she could try out the position if she enrolled in an academic program that would lead her to the credentials and education needed. The hospital offered to participate in this venture, and several of the staff act as "in-service mentors" for part of her academic program. At the present time, she also takes courses at a local community college. The ESC mentor

coordinates the program and helps the student to make connections between the daily experiential learning and the more theoretical aspects of the classroom. This arrangement has allowed a person, with the cooperation of another institution, to improve considerably her professional status.

Not all the students are intellectually sophisticated. Mary is an Irish immigrant in her 40s. Presently a bookkeeper, she aspires to be an accountant. Before entering ESC, she had never read anything but women's magazines, and though she was clearly a good bookkeeper, she was semi-literate and had very narrow horizons. Her mentor was able to nurture her through a series of contracts, and she gained not only new knowledge, but also an entirely different perspective on the world and on her own potential. I fear that without that personalized attention, this timid soul would have dropped out into obscurity and never have had the encouragement and guidance which have enriched her life.

These are but a very few of the many different types of adult students who will form a large portion of those seeking education in the future. Academic institutions must learn to be responsive to their needs.

The Ecological Frame of Mind

R. E. Lieuallen

The higher education enterprise has an ecology of its own. With its millions of students, teachers, and administrators, it exists in a complex environment of knowledge, concepts, organizational structures, buildings, limited resources, and competing enterprises. Establishing reasonable balance within that environment poses challenging problems for those with stewardship responsibilities.

The Societal Problem

In a recent report commissioned by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Lewis J. Perelman began by assuming that "our world today is in a state of unprecedented danger."[1] He listed several key dimensions of this danger, including the degradation of the environment, the explosive population growth coupled with a scarce food supply, the rapid depletion of critical resources, the damaging effects of technology, the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots," and the apparent growing threats of war and violence.

If Perelman were alone in this pessimistic analysis one might ignore him. His report to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is far too

[1] Lewis J. Perelman and William H. Bergquist, *Growth and Education: A Strategic Report to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund on the Implications of Growth Policy for Postsecondary Education*, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Boulder, Colorado, 1974.

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well documented, though, to run that risk. There is, indeed, a growing community of concern about our global survival. James Reston, in a column which appeared in early May of 1975, discussed the implications of "The Second Nuclear Age." He quoted the director of the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency as noting that war by accident or miscalculation is likely to be a greater danger in the second nuclear age than war by deliberate design, and that an even more likely danger will be nuclear blackmail by political desperadoes.

The serious attention being paid to technological hazards is illustrated by concern over uncontrolled use of certain chlorofluorocarbon compounds in aerosol spray can products. The Oregon legislature has banned their sale in Oregon after March 1, 1977. The action of the legislature suggests a worry about the alleged effects of aerosol sprays on the thin layer of ozone thirty-five miles above the earth. Possible irreversible damage is forecast by those supporting the ban.

The proliferation of waste materials has led some thoughtful people to speculate that we are threatened with suffocation by our own garbage. A skyscraper-high pile of debris in New York City and accumulated wood-waste in the Willamette Valley underline the threat.

The seemingly insatiable demand for energy, based upon the growth syndrome, with its accompanying pressure to develop coal deposits in the Rocky Mountain area regardless of the environmental damage, could—unless properly managed—result not only in an early exhaustion of a major energy resource, but also in the creation of an Appalachia in the West.

We may be forced to abandon the growth syndrome in part—but only in part—by a shortage of materials. These impending shortages *should* persuade us to limit our consumption and preserve the world's resources for future generations. Unless we voluntarily impose this restriction, we may be *forced* to limit our consumption simply because the resources will be depleted.

In sum, the large problem we face, as expressed by Perelman, is the "distinct possibility of an ecological catastrophe of global proportions." At the very least, we face the likelihood of one or more localized disasters.

Professor Kenneth Boulding, the University of Colorado economist, recently expressed the view that whatever is possible ultimately will occur. "If we wait long enough," he said, "we will have a nuclear

war." Professor Boulding's argument, however, can be reversed. It should be *possible* for man to manage his environment in such a way as to *avoid* a nuclear war. And to *avoid* ecological catastrophe.

Unlike other organisms, man has the capacity to look into the future. He has a well-developed memory and, if he uses this memory and his knowledge of past actions, he can sometimes predict the consequences of actions taken now. This ability to look ahead, to predict, and to forecast has led some futurists to raise the spectre of irreversible forces leading to man's destruction. Fortunately, we know that forecasting is not an exact science. According to an old Chinese proverb, forecasting is a very difficult business, especially when it has to deal with the future. Professor Boulding asserts the obvious when he says, "Forecasting will continue to contain an irreducible degree of uncertainty." "If we could predict the future of knowledge," Boulding says, "we wouldn't have to wait."

Maybe—probably—the doomsayers will be proven wrong. Furthermore, once disaster is predicted, the prediction has sown seeds of its own destruction. Unfortunately, however, the sword of the "irreducible degree of uncertainty" cuts both ways. Perhaps the doomsayers will be proven right. This possibility is one we cannot afford to risk. We can afford to risk errors in prediction which may result in failure to accurately forecast evolutionary changes. We cannot risk the possibility of ecological catastrophe.

Questions can be raised about the ethical character of man failing to utilize his intelligence to shape the future relationships between organisms and their environment. Surely we have an obligation to seek and to maintain, if possible, a state of ecological stability which will preserve the planet earth for future generations. We have an imperative to create a managed equilibrium between man and his environment.

Colleges and Universities

A prominent scientist asserted that "the quality of life of the future will be determined by scientists in college and university laboratories." To some extent, this is self-serving. Humanists probably believe that the quality of life in the future will be determined by *their* efforts, while politicians too are likely to contend for a share of the action.

Still, what occurs in college and university laboratories—and in classrooms and libraries—*will* have a major impact on the quality of life of the future. And, possibly, it will determine whether any "life of the future" will exist on this planet at all. The extent to which the influence of colleges and universities proves consistent with the moral imperative to create a managed equilibrium between man and his environment will depend upon changes both in their structure and in their substance. The following are changes which I perceive as needed and feasible.

1. Colleges and universities should abandon the growth syndrome—that is, the assumption that institutional vitality depends upon continuing increases in size.

Such a change in point of view would be consistent both with enrollment predictions for the near future, and with the "limits to growth" syndrome being increasingly advocated for the larger society. However, it will not come easily, and Rene Dubos, in his book *So Human An Animal*, describes the difficulty. "The search for . . . unlimited growth," he writes, "generates a highly stimulating, almost intoxicating, atmosphere, whereas the very hint of approaching stabilization creates apathy. For this reason, we can change our ways only if we adopt a new social ethic—almost a new social religion."

Perelman concluded his list of six introductory assumptions with this one: "Finally, *education* is viewed as an important—if not essential—part of the process of transformation from our current unstable state of ecological crisis to a state of equilibrium." It is both possible and desirable that we begin to manage colleges and universities with the assumption that stability (equilibrium), not unlimited growth, is our goal. Fortunately, we have the tools to accomplish this goal. If we control admission and, at the same time, exercise our capacity to expand service to off-site publics, then "managed equilibrium" is a feasible and reasonable objective.

2. Universities should abandon the generally held belief that a university, to be legitimate and respectable, must encompass the universality of knowledge. They should view the university as an institution which performs a more limited set of academic tasks and performs them well.

It is not necessary for a university to offer the full range of graduate degrees in the sciences, humanities, and social sciences, and the full range of professional degrees. Consequently, *all* universities should undertake a systematic review of their graduate programs, and

terminate all low-quality programs which graduate no or few persons. Further, high-cost programs should also be examined to determine whether a *regional* solution might improve both quality and cost effectiveness.

Some may object that, under this plan, undergraduate instruction in departments which do not offer graduate degrees would suffer from lack of stimulation without research and graduate students. In fact, little evidence exists to support the view that excellent undergraduate instruction requires graduate programs in the same disciplines on the same campus. Evidence *does* exist that excellent undergraduate instruction *can* occur in the absence of such programs. Reed College in Portland, for example, has a national reputation as an excellent undergraduate institution. No graduate programs support its first-rate undergraduate offerings. And there are other, similarly excellent undergraduate institutions as well.

A recent report by a distinguished Board of Visitors on the College of Liberal Arts at Oregon State University noted that, at the College of Liberal Arts which offers no graduate degrees, faculty perceive themselves as "second class citizens." These faculty members, the report alleged, bemoan the fact that they are not permitted to offer advanced graduate study. But students at the college, according to the report, were not so harsh in their evaluation of the CLA faculty:

> "The board interviewed approximately 70 students who were majors in the departments of CLA, a large proportion of whom are graduating seniors. The experience was a particularly gratifying one. The students were intelligent and remarkably well-informed on matters relating to the charge of the Board. Student comment was predominantly favorable with regard to the quality of their educational experience at CLA. Indeed, many of them maintained that they felt that they enjoyed an educational environment second to none. Departments which received particularly favorable comments were history, psychology, geography, sociology and anthropology, music, art, and religious studies. . . ."

Such student reactions suggest that excellent teaching can and does occur in the absence of graduate programs. The presence of a large number of excellent undergraduate colleges in America discredits the

university-perpetuated belief that high-quality undergraduate instruction requires the presence of graduate students and research-oriented faculty. In fact, a case might be made that the presence of graduate students and research-oriented graduate degrees detracts from, rather than improves, undergraduate teaching. I, for one, would like to see more evidence before a jury brings in the verdict.

3. Acceptable job descriptions of university faculty members should permit increased differentiation in roles.

The typical capsule job description of a university faculty member includes at least three identifiable tasks: teaching, research, and public service. Faculty members characteristically are evaluated (and rewarded) on the basis of their composite performance.

Yet not all good researchers are good teachers. Nor is research productivity an essential characteristic of a good teacher. Thus, it should be acceptable for a good researcher who is a bad teacher to survive in the academic marketplace and receive compensation for his research skills. It should be equally acceptable for a skillful teacher to devote his professional time to teaching—without being categorized as second-class—and receive compensation for his teaching skills.

If one assumes the acceptability of this division of labor, then the argument that graduate degrees are necessary for excellence at the undergraduate level is further weakened. It is possible for a university to seek a state of "managed equilibrium" and still maintain the dynamism accompanying change. It can add and abandon programs at the graduate and professional school level without compromising the quality of its basic undergraduate offerings.

This is not to say that excellence in teaching can exist in the absence of scholarship. But scholarship and research are not one and the same. Scholarship is practiced for the enrichment of the individual, and for the consequent enrichment of teaching. Any teacher who aspires to excellence must have a lively interest in his teaching field. Such scholarship is the supporting underpinning of good teaching. Research, on the other hand, is more than a lively scholarly interest in a subject. It is sustained intellectual probing for new knowledge. More often than not, its primary goal is some external, not personal, benefit—such as a revised theory of nuclear fusion or an improved field burner. Excellent teaching can exist in the absence of research; it cannot exist in the absence of scholarship.

4. Graduate and professional schools should seek ways to

broaden the preparation of their graduates, rather than to continue to concentrate the training of graduate students in narrowing specialties.

Graduate and professional schools long have been criticized for teaching more and more about less and less. Such criticism is simplistic. Though of course it is not possible for any person today to acquire universal knowledge, it is also true that shallow knowledge in many fields will not enable a person to function effectively as a global problem-solver. Graduate and professional schools already have the means available to them to add breadth to the preparation of specialists. Increased interdisciplinary and interdepartmental use of faculty members would enrich both the specialized training of graduate students and the backgrounds of the faculty members themselves.

Occasional attempts have been initiated to add yet another degree or credential to the academic hierarchy. Post-doctoral study is commonplace. Seldom, however, is it proposed that holders of the Ph.D. degree work toward a further credential or degree for which the Ph.D. would be a prerequisite. And, normally, the possible advanced credential or degree is viewed as the reward for *further* specialization. But perhaps we should consider conferring a post-doctoral credential or degree which would reward a specialist for pursuing a program to *broaden* his education *after* having acquired a high level of specialization. Perelman writes of the need to create a new image of the "educated person." He states that the "philosopher king" or the "Renaissance man" is no longer applicable to the contemporary "human and planetary condition." Is it not possible for us to abandon the "depth vs. breadth" argument and to build breadth *upon*, rather than *instead of*, depth? Is it not possible that Perelman's "transformer," or educated man, will be a product of an expanded view of the role of the graduate school?

5. Colleges and universities should articulate more clearly their proper role as a critic of society's value structure and defend social criticism as a legitimate function of all disciplines.

An unresolved conflict exists between the desire to deal with knowledge as "value neutral," and the contention that colleges and universities have an essential role in criticizing, evaluating, and clarifying the value content of the dominant culture. A strong case can be made that criticizing, evaluating, and clarifying the value content of the culture is a *sine qua non* of the ecological frame of mind.

It is largely this role of colleges and universities which, during recent years, has stimulated students to be sensitive to the relationship between individual and corporate actions and environmental consequences. If public and private decisions are to be in the long-range public interest, they must reflect the influence of an ecological conscience. And it is in our college and university classrooms that the underlying values of that ecological conscience are clarified and strengthened.

Systems of Higher Education

A statewide system of higher education is not a substitute for a college or university. Rather, it is an organization within which colleges and universities function. A statewide system does not deliver educational services. Instead, it provides the intermediate organizational structure—between state and institution—within which colleges and universities deliver educational services.

The system, considered essential because of size, provides an accountability link between state and institution. An important element in this accountability link is that the public receive assurance that colleges and universities are functioning to create and maintain a state of equilibrium between man and his environment. In other words, these institutions must be able to provide assurance that the resources of the planet earth will be available to future generations. The following are suggestions for appropriate efforts by statewide systems which would be consistent with the ecological frame of mind.

1. Statewide systems of higher education should provide the coordination and leadership which will enable the colleges and universities within a state to reach conditions of managed equilibrium without destructive competition. The historic drive for bigness, and the rewards originally associated with increased size, motivate institutions to compete for the available pool of students in an effort to continue their growth in size. However, this competitive drive, if maintained during a period of stability, will prove to be destructive of some institutions.

A statewide system can provide enrollment limits, and guidelines for managing those limits, which will reduce the rewards for

engaging in intense competition for numbers of students. The resulting stability of size will require that other means and other motivations for improving quality and maintaining institutional vitality be explored. The fact that some established colleges and universities —mostly independent ones—have maintained a stable size and still improved in apparent quality indicates that the goal is achievable.

2. Statewide systems should provide the resources and initiative to assure that their institutions continually examine their programs with a view to changing, adding, and abandoning programs. Institutions are not intrinsically unable to renew themselves. Yet they apparently possess an intrinsic conservatism which cause them to resist creative change. Fortunately, the stewards of a statewide system play a role which permits them to initiate, question, examine and evaluate programs without the inertia imposed by institutional conservatism.

While it is not the role of a statewide administrator to make management decisions for an institution, it *is* his role—in providing the accountability link—to assure that probing questions about program effectiveness and relevancy are both asked and answered. If statewide professional officers do not ask such questions, then these questions will be asked directly by state legislators whose level of sophistication may be too superficial to permit constructive reaction from the institutions.

Continued program review, stimulated by qualified statewide officers, should increase the likelihood that colleges and universities will continue to grow in service to the state, even without the stimulus of growth in numbers of students to be served.

3. Statewide systems should seek to provide the initiative, resources, and rewards which will encourage interinstitutional sharing of facilities and personnel. Institutional cooperation, as contrasted with competition, is more readily achieved within a coordinated, possibly unified, system of institutions than when each institution functions autonomously. As Dubos emphasized, stability—managed equilibrium—tends to create apathy. The leadership role of statewide officers needs to be directed not toward the management of institutions, but toward the encouragement of institutions to adopt the ethic of cooperation and sharing, rather than the ethic of competition and divisiveness.

It has been suggested in Oregon that a continuing structure, possibly patterned after the American Assembly, be established for

the purpose of bringing together, on a regular basis, persons from government, business and industry, the practicing professions, labor, and academia to identify and examine the "survival issues" with which the State should be grappling. Such an activity, if approached cooperatively, might enable the institutions within a system to use their best intellectual resources in the service of the State. If each institution were to undertake the task individually and competitively, its impact would likely prove so minimal as to discredit the effort altogether.

4. Statewide systems should seek to stem the movement toward all institutions becoming universities and the concomitant pressures for more students, extensive graduate and research programs, and higher staffing levels. The growth syndrome will not be abandoned until institutions and their constituencies do more than pay lip-service to the view that institutional prestige and quality result not from moving closer to the image of the large liberal arts universities, but from doing well with a set of limited academic tasks.

The establishment and maintenance of institutional diversity within a state will require more than a capsule mission statement for each institution. The mission statement should be precise in defining the levels of degrees to be offered; the general nature of the programs to be included; the desired target-enrollment in fulltime equivalent students; and the primary geographical area to be served.

Statewide system leaders have a responsibility to *articulate* the virtues of institutional diversity, and to seek to distribute resources to *reward* institutions for doing well the more limited tasks associated with such diversity.

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